

CYPRUS TAKES CENTER STAGE • ISRAEL'S VOLATILE MIX

# In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

March 19, 2000

## HOW TO CONFRONT GLOBALIZATION



**CHALLENGE  
THE ELITES**

BY SASKIA SASSEN

**TAKE IT TO  
THE STREETS**

BY NAOMI KLEIN



\$2.50 Canada \$3.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

"... with liberty and justice for all"

James Weinstein  
Founding Editor and Publisher

**Editor:** Joel Bleifuss

**Managing Editor:** Craig Aaron

**Senior Editors:** Patricia Aufderheide, David

Moberg, Salim Muwakkil

**Associate Editor:** Kristin Kolb-Angelbeck

**Culture Editor:** Joe Knowles

**Contributing Editors:** Terry J. Allen, Bill Boisvert,

Barbara Ehrenreich, Laura Flanders,

Annette Fuentes, David Futrelle, Juan Gonzalez,

David Graeber, Miles Harvey, George Hodak,

Doug Ireland, Dave Mulcahey, Kim Phillips-Fein,

Jeffrey St. Clair, Jane Slaughter, Jason Vest,

Fred Weir, G. Pascal Zachary

**Proofreaders:** Michael Cowden, Jean Kang,

Alan Kimmel, Norman Wishner

**Interns:** Alex Davidson, Esra Khalil, Geeta Kharkar

**Art Director:** Jim Rinnert

**Associate Art Director:** Steve Anderson

**Illustrator:** Terry LaBan

**Webmaster:** Steve Anderson

**Publisher:** Bob Burnett

**Associate Publisher:** Julie Fain

**Circulation Director:** Luli Buxton

**Circulation Manager:** Peter Hoyt

*In These Times* (ISSN 0160-5992) is published biweekly by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 308 E. Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 25, No. 8) went to press on February 16 for newsstand sales March 5 to March 19, 2001.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©2001 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times'* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Contact the union at (212) 254-0279 or <http://www.nwu.org>.

**Subscriptions** are \$36.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). For **subscription questions** and **address changes** call (800) 827-0270.

**Editorial correspondence** and **letters** should be sent to: 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Phone: (773) 772-0100. Fax: (773) 772-4180. E-mail: [itt@inthesetimes.com](mailto:itt@inthesetimes.com).

Publisher does not assume liability for **unsolicited manuscripts** or material. Manuscripts unaccompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. **All letters** received by *In These Times* become property of the magazine. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form.

For back issues and advertising rates, call toll free (888) READ-ITT. Available back issues are \$3 each, \$5 each overseas. Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from Bell and Howell, Ann Arbor, MI. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Newsstand circulation through the IPA International Sales Cooperative at (415) 643-4401, or [jesse@bigtoppubs.com](mailto:jesse@bigtoppubs.com).

© CCUE 759-C



## Publisher's Notes

To restructure our economy so it operates for the good of all people, we need to begin puncturing the dominant economic myths. In my last column, I explored the myth of the self-regulating marketplace. In this column, I look at the myth of the corporation as a person.

For more than 100 years, the laws of the United States have treated corporations as human beings. This fiction does great damage to the common good. Under our current laws, corporations are granted perpetual life, know no limits and cannot be jailed. As Lord Edward Thurlow put it back in the early 19th century, "Corporations have neither bodies to be punished, nor souls to be condemned, they therefore do as they like."

For our society to grant such extraordinary legal rights to corporations is yet another example of placing property rights above human rights. This must be changed, and one place to start is by altering our legal system to limit the power of corporations.

Corporations exist at the discretion of the public and are licensed for public benefit, therefore they should be required to renew their charters periodically. Every 10 or 20 years they should be asked to demonstrate that they actually operate for the common good, not just for the benefit of their shareholders. If unable to prove they do so, they could lose their charters.

How would this work? Pennsylvania's Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund has proposed an amendment to that state's corporation code that would limit

the life of a corporation to 30 years and would mandate public hearings to consider the renewal. This would provide corporations with a powerful motivation to place human rights over property rights.

Laws also should be passed to give workers more say in the operation of the corporations that employ them, requiring corporations to provide employees with seats on their boards, for example.

However, laws like these are nearly impossible to pass because politicians are so heavily influenced by corporate money. A way to remedy this is to pass campaign finance reform that restricts contributions to candidates, campaigns, lobbyists and PACs. (The McCain-Feingold bill, which bans unregulated soft money, would be an important step forward.) We could also deny corporations

the right to deduct payments to lobbyists as business expenses. (Ultimately, the best way to clean up the political process is to provide for full public financing of campaigns.)

It's ironic that corporations are quick to argue for government subsidies that would not be permitted in a totally free market—such as federal support of Archer Daniels Midland's efforts to market ethanol overseas, to name just one example. Thanks to various forms of corporate welfare, in the past 50 years corporate taxes have fallen from 28 percent to 9.3 percent of federal revenue. This is clearly unfair and means that individuals have to shoulder more of the tax burden.

Polls show most Americans agree with the idea of eliminating corporate welfare. When Al Gore said on the campaign trail that he would stand up to "big tobacco, big oil, the big polluters, the pharmaceutical companies, the HMOs," he touched a nerve with voters—a *Business Week* poll found that 74 percent of respondents agreed with Gore's sentiments. Corporate welfare should be eliminated—and while we're at it, we should reduce the pork in the bloated military budget, another form of welfare for the big corporations.

Corporations are not living persons. They must not be granted perpetual charters. Nor should they be allowed to distort the political system in return for financial favors. For more information on what you can do, contact the Program on Corporations, Law and Democracy (POCLAD) at [people@poclad.org](mailto:people@poclad.org).

**Under our current laws, corporations have perpetual life, know no limits and cannot be jailed. This must be changed.**

But even if we puncture this myth, and that of the self-regulating market, we have another important myth to deal with—the level playing field. If we value human rights over property rights, then we need to reach out to all the members of our society and provide them with equal access to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I'll say more about this next time. I look forward to hearing from you at [bburnett@inthesetimes.com](mailto:bburnett@inthesetimes.com).

Bob Burnett

# In These Times

Volume 25, Number 8

March 19, 2001

www.inthesetimes.com

## 2 Letters

## 3 Editorial By G. Pascal Zachary

Bush's strategic deception.

## 4 News

Israel's volatile mix, where the Kosovo war never ended, 10 days that shook Ecuador, Colombian peace talks, Tyson's fowl behavior and Amazon.combat.

## 6 Appall-o-Meter By David Futrelle

## 10 Viewpoint By Joel Bleifuss

No one here but us rich guys.

## 11 Forgotten America By Juan Gonzalez

Save Pacifica before it's sold.

### Features

## 12 Do or Die

By David Moberg  
The next four years will be a fight for union survival.

## 14 Challenge the Elites

By Saskia Sassen  
Could Davos be more than something to protest?

## 15 Take it to the Streets

By Naomi Klein  
Less talk, more action.

## 18 One Island Divided

By V.A. Otis  
After 27 years, Cyprus takes center stage.

## 20 Hungry for Justice

By Martin A. Lee  
Political prisoners protest state terror in Turkey.

## 22 Frank's Wild Years

By David Graeber  
BOOKS: The conquest of Tom Frank.

## 24 He's a Wanderer

By Philip Connors  
BOOKS: Edward Hoagland's *Compass Points*.

## 26 Whee-Woo!

By Hillary Frey  
MUSIC: Stephen Malkmus is still enchanted.

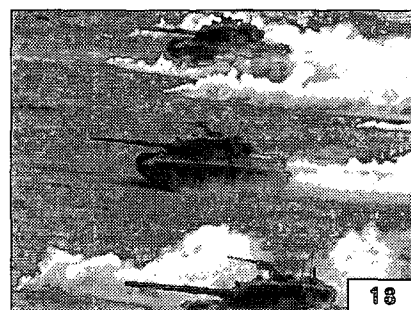
## 27 In Close Company

By Carl Bromley  
FILM: Wong Kar-Wai's *In the Mood for Love*.

## 30 No Sweat, No Slang

E-mail from Nike.

Cover Photo: Michele Limina/AFP/EPA/Keystone



# Letters

## All That Glitters Is Not Feingold

Hans Johnson writes that John Ashcroft's nomination for attorney general posed a challenge for progressives ("Ashcroft's Acid Test," February 19). But it clearly was a challenge not everyone was up for.

Some in California had started to talk about Sen. Russell Feingold (D-Wisconsin) as a potential presidential candidate in 2004. But with national stature go national responsibilities. In explaining his vote in support of Ashcroft's appointment, Feingold said that he "offered an olive branch, not a white flag." That is incorrect. He offered a white flag. Feingold's vote in committee gave cover to other Democratic senators to vote for Ashcroft—a vote that brought Feingold's support here down with a resounding crash.

Feingold also helped give George W. Bush an indication of the Democrats' mettle. If the Democrats could not even unite to block this most provocative and unsuitable appointment, it's clear they will be paper tigers—and he will ride roughshod over them.

**Aris Anagnos**  
Los Angeles

## Vaginal Discourse

There are a lot of people in Tennessee who would respond to the issues James Weinstein discusses in "Let's Crash the Party" (February 19). Unfortunately, in the very same issue in which you call for moving away from the fringe, your back cover ("If the 'Story' Could Talk") was guaranteed to offend anyone here in Greene County you might have been able to talk to about issues. People here are aware of vaginas. We even laugh about them among our friends of the same sex. We just don't see the need to bare them to the world. If the left wants to reach a majority of people in the United States, it cannot carry on with in-your-face sexual politics.

**Jim and Dianne May**  
Greeneville, Tennessee

## And Now for Something Completely Different

As a Nader voter, I have to commend James Weinstein for his excellent article, "Let's Crash the Party" (February 19). The 2000 campaign certainly has made me re-evaluate my views toward third-party politics. It was sickening to see liberal states like Oregon, Wisconsin and Minnesota almost go to Bush because good progressives voted for Ralph Nader.

**Richard Clark**  
Salem, Indiana

I voted for Ralph Nader last November, not because I was totally enamored of the candidate nor because I thought the Green Party had truly become a viable institution, but because I wanted to do my part to destroy the two major parties by any means necessary. Unlike Robert McChesney, I don't really give a damn what Joel Bleifuss (or John Conyers or Eric Alterman) thinks about that, because I consider them the enemy to the extent that they help sustain the Democratic Party. At this point in my life (as a middle-ager, not a crazed youth), I am more interested in performing nihilistic acts that seek to tear down the Washington consensus on economics, military, society and the global free market., than I am in attempting to do small and ultimately useless constructive acts within existing institutions. Help the Democratic Party, James Weinstein? I'd rather die.

**Loring Wirbel**  
Monument, Colorado

Ralph Nader didn't steal my vote—I chose to vote for Nader. I just ended up getting sick of being triangulated against. Instead of demonizing Nader for stealing voters from the Democrats, ask what the Democrats did to drive so many people away. The answers are near at hand. Immediately after the election, with nothing political at stake, Clinton's people single-handedly sabotaged the agreement on global warming. I hope to vote for a Democratic presidential candidate in 2004. But it's up to the Democrats to convince me.

**John Emerson**  
Portland, Oregon

I truly don't get it. Why do progressives feel betrayed by Bill Clinton and Al Gore? I mean, they helped found the Democratic Leadership Council, which was explicitly designed to push the Democratic Party rightward. They acted just as leftists should have expected them to act. Why the hurt feelings?

**Jason Schulman**  
Brooklyn, New York

Ralph Nader simply should have run as a Democrat. The only argument I have heard against this strategy is that it takes too much money to run within the Democratic party. I think a vigorous Nader candidacy against Al Gore and Bill Bradley could easily have garnered 25 percent of the Democratic primary vote.

This kind of primary run certainly could have, in the words of Doug Ireland, "inject[ed] a radical, systemic critique into

the national discourse," "mobilized and trained tens of thousands of younger, single-issue militants in electoral politics," and accomplished the other gains that Nader's supporters claim in the results of this year's election ("The Blame Game," December 25).

The same logic will apply in 2004 even more powerfully. I strongly disagree with Nader's faith that the election of George W. Bush will move the Democratic Party and its voters to the left. But if that argument is true, then it would surely be perverse to reward that movement by once again running a third party candidacy whose net effect is to make Bush's re-election more likely.

If it's not true, and if the message the Democrats draw from this year's Nader run is that they really need to figure out how to get at border state voters by being more conservative on cultural issues like guns, then another Nader run will simply further weaken the progressive leverage over the Democratic Party. So whatever the impact of this year's election, it seems to me that what is called for in 2004 is a strong progressive challenge within the Democratic primary process.

But the Greens as a party are, of course, subject to the same kind of Darwinian political logic that afflicts the Republicans and Democrats. They are genetically constructed to go after votes, even if this hurts their issues. In addition to a seat in New Jersey, the Greens cost the Democrats a House seat in Lansing, Michigan; ran against Mark Udall in Colorado, making his race much closer; and competed strongly in several New Mexico swing districts. They ran in these districts not because the Democrats were Republican copycats, but because these districts are where most of their supporters live.

While Ireland argues that this ought to "have the Democratic high command worried," it also ought to worry all of us who have to live with the results of a House controlled, even narrowly, by Tom DeLay and his allies. We need voices like Udall's and Rush Holt's to provide leadership against the more corporate-oriented members of the Democratic caucus.

**Carl Pope**  
Executive Director  
The Sierra Club  
San Francisco

## Correction

Oy! the Yiddish words were misspelled in the illustration for "If the 'Story' Could Talk" (February 19). The correct spelling is:

די מעשה



# Strategic Deception

By G. Pascal Zachary

**D**oomsday scenarios are back. The most credible has Pakistan unleashing a pre-emptive strike against India. Or perhaps North Korea, a suspected nuclear power, attacks South Korea. Or maybe China hits Taiwan with a few nukes before a land invasion.

After a decade of civil wars in Africa, the Balkans and Russia, as well as the spread of the AIDS pandemic, the world's most serious threats seem decidedly non-nuclear. Not so. "Nuclear weapons have become usable again," says Sergei Karaganov, chairman of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, a Moscow think tank that's close to the Russian government.

Anxieties about nuclear weapons are rising, fed by the new Bush administration's avowed interest in building a missile "shield." Defense experts fear this could spawn a new arms race—or worse, launch an actual nuclear attack.

Even before the new president can decide whether a missile-defense system is technically feasible, political costs are mounting. European leaders are bewildered by the U.S. position, and China is angry. Meanwhile, Russian President Vladimir Putin warned in January that a missile shield would "irreparably damage" global stability and probably kill the possibility of an agreement between Russia and the United States to dramatically reduce weapons stockpiles.

What's pathetic about all this is that even if a missile defense system were to be developed, which is itself unlikely, everyone from the CIA to independent security experts say that a missile is the least likely form of nuclear attack on the United States—for the obvious reason that such a missile would carry a "return address," guaranteeing swift and certain U.S. retaliation. More plausible threats come from below-radar "cruise" missiles, ships and even hand-delivered bombs.

So why is missile defense so appealing to the new administration? To start with, U.S. political leaders have long sought to placate Americans by promising technological "fixes" for the inherent instability of being a world superpower. And then

there is the need to find new rationales for huge increases in spending on military innovation. Bush clearly sees in a missile defense system a respectable cover for a giant defense boondoggle (official price tag \$60 billion but likely far higher) of the sort not seen since Reagan launched "Star Wars."

There is a long history of the U.S. government setting fantastic goals for nuclear weapons builders to attract funding and public fascination. In the '50s, Edward Teller, then chief of one of the nation's two bomb labs, personally lobbied President Eisenhower to endorse work on a radiation-free nuclear bomb. No matter that Teller himself knew such a "clean" bomb was a fiction. The mere possibility convinced Eisenhower to oppose a ban on nuclear testing, which was Teller's real aim.

Graham Allison, a nuclear strategist at Harvard University, concedes that domestic political needs have always driven U.S. administrations to push weapons systems with little regard for the effects on international relations. Now it's déjà vu all

over again. Allison warns that many countries are unlikely to understand that U.S. politicians aren't serious about missile defense. He worries that China, which he estimates has only 20 working nuclear weapons and none deliverable by missile, might choose to launch a pre-emptive strike against a U.S. ally (such as Taiwan) in order to reset the international balance of power prior to the deployment of a missile defense system.

The Bush administration, of course, wants to undermine any international backlash by insisting that U.S. allies would be covered by any defense system. But this offer is meaningless. "A defense against nuclear missiles is technological-

**Bush clearly sees a missile defense system as a respectable cover for a giant defense boondoggle.**

ly possible, but it won't provide a real cover," Karaganov says.

And this is precisely the point. Reducing nuclear tensions must come the old-fashioned way, by patient negotiation, compromise and giving incentives (or imposing penalties) on nations intent on developing nuclear weapons. Until all countries agree to forswear nukes and destroy their stockpiles, the risk of nuclear war—accidental or otherwise—remains. No technological fix can change this. ■

Terry LaBan



## Volatile Mix

With Sharon, Palestinians prepare for the worst

By Charmaine Seitz

BETHLEHEM, THE WEST BANK—Night has fallen here. Not far from Christian holy sites, Israeli gunfire hails on Bethlehem. Palestinian gunmen just killed an Israeli settler driving nearby, and for more than an hour, Israeli tanks and machine-guns have fired on Bethlehem's residential areas in an unsuccessful attempt to seek out the Palestinian shooters. The townspeople sit in the dark, listening for ambulances and waiting for the battle to subside.

Just a week earlier, Ariel Sharon was elected prime minister of Israel and already the tension is building. Since the February 6 election, Palestinian attacks on Israeli settlements have increased—only to be met by intense Israeli retaliation. On February 8, Israeli tanks shelled the Palestinian towns of Ramallah and Al-Bireh for four hours straight. Despite severe damage to Palestinian homes and a medical clinic, no one on either side was seriously injured. "Sharon's success has introduced an escalation," says Abbas Zaki, a leader of Fateh, Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's political faction. "Silence means acceptance. If we say no to the intifada, it means that we accept the new Israeli realities. We have no other choice but to continue our uprising."

Sharon worked hard to sell himself as the best candidate to make peace. But among Palestinians, he will always be known as a warmonger. His record includes overseeing a 1953 attack on a Palestinian village in which 69 people were killed; and, defying military orders,

disastrously pushing into the Sinai Peninsula in 1956; and, of course, crafting Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, well-known for the massacre of more than 1,000 Palestinian refugees under Israel's watch.

Despite these atrocities, the international community has welcomed Sharon. President George W. Bush was one of the first to congratulate the new Israeli leader, assuring him that Israeli-American relations remain "rock-solid." The European Union added its welcome and said in a statement that it hopes Sharon "will keep the peace process alive and continue the dialogue according to the wishes of all the parties concerned."



A Palestinian throws stones at Israeli troops in Ramallah. Photojournalist Laurent van der Stock (foreground) was shot in the leg during the clash.

Palestinian diplomatic leaders are adopting a wait-and-see attitude. "The ball is now in the Israeli court," says Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat. "If they want peace, we are well prepared. However, our peace will not come at any price. The way to peace and stability is through the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation."

Judging from previous statements, Sharon is unwilling to go that far. He rejects Palestinian autonomy over East Jerusalem, even though Palestinian-Israeli peace accords thus far have been premised on U.N. resolutions calling for Israel's complete withdrawal from that half of the city. Sharon also maintains

that Palestinians do not really want peace. Of his visit to Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem's Muslim shrine (which Jews call the Temple Mount) that marked the beginning of the ongoing Palestinian intifada, Sharon said, "I unmasked the Palestinians. We saw their true intentions."

The Al Aqsa uprising, as this Palestinian revolt has become known, has taken on the look and feel of guerrilla warfare. While the first intifada of the '80s included Israeli boycotts and public strikes, this uprising is increasingly a violent push against Israeli targets led by localized militia groups. The Palestinian public remains stalwart, but the effects of Israel's four-month closure of Palestinian villages and towns are taking a toll. The Israeli economic closure preventing the movement of goods has pushed one-third of the 3 million Palestinians below the poverty line of \$2 a day. Courts and government offices are barely functioning, and public anger against the lack of work and government control is palpable. In Ramallah, one taxi driver frustrated at traffic yelled angrily at a police officer: "Everything broken in this area is the responsibility of your bosses."

Open internal rifts have observers concerned that the uprising is turning upon itself. In the Gaza Strip, Arafat's elite Force 17 security was deployed in the streets after a personal dispute in which some 50 men wielding guns and grenades destroyed a local club. In a later Gaza incident, fighting broke out when a refugee family refused to heed the summons of Palestinian security officials. "There is a state of apprehension and fear, of heightened anxiety on the street," says Eyad Sarraj, a mental health professional in Gaza. "People feel that the future is bleak."

"I think the easiest way out for the Palestinian Authority is to direct people into a kind of war against Israel," Sarraj adds with disapproval. "That will again direct the energy outside."

YANIS BEHRAKIS/REUTERS



In coming weeks, this could make a volatile mix. Sharon maintains an interest in what he calls "creative" military options, according to a *New Yorker* interview conducted before his run for prime minister. As such, Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories are prepared for the worst.

Their leaders are trying to maintain calm. "We should face reality as it is," Azmi Bishara, an Arab member of the Israeli Knesset, told a forum before Sharon's election. "Don't panic." ■

## War Without End

### Albanian group launches attacks in southern Serbia

By Jeremy Scahill

BUJANOVAC, SERBIA—An Albanian boy peers over a concrete wall. Squinting, he looks up at a Serbian police officer standing watch at a building 300 feet away. Pointing at the building, the boy speaks to someone behind the nearby mosque, and within minutes a man in camouflage emerges. Positioning the boy in front of him, the man looks through binoculars at a half-constructed building now serving as a Serbian police checkpoint. Moments later, five children nervously stroll out from behind the mosque. A half-dozen men, all carrying automatic rifles, use the children as human shields to sprint to a bunker just behind the mosque. After taking a position behind stacked sandbags, a sniper points his rifle at the police officer. The children scatter. "This is how it goes everyday," says Serbian police officer Trifko Trifkovic. "Sometimes they use the kids, other times they just run to the bunker."

This is southern Serbia, a place where the Kosovo war continues outside the lens of the world's media. Shortly after the NATO bombing ended and an international force assumed administration of the southern Yugoslavian province, armed Albanians calling themselves the Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac (UCPMB) began carrying out attacks on Yugoslavian and Serbian security forces outside Kosovo.

The Presevo Valley, as Albanians refer to the region, is majority Albanian. The UCPMB say they are fighting to liberate the area from Belgrade's repression and unite it with Kosovo.

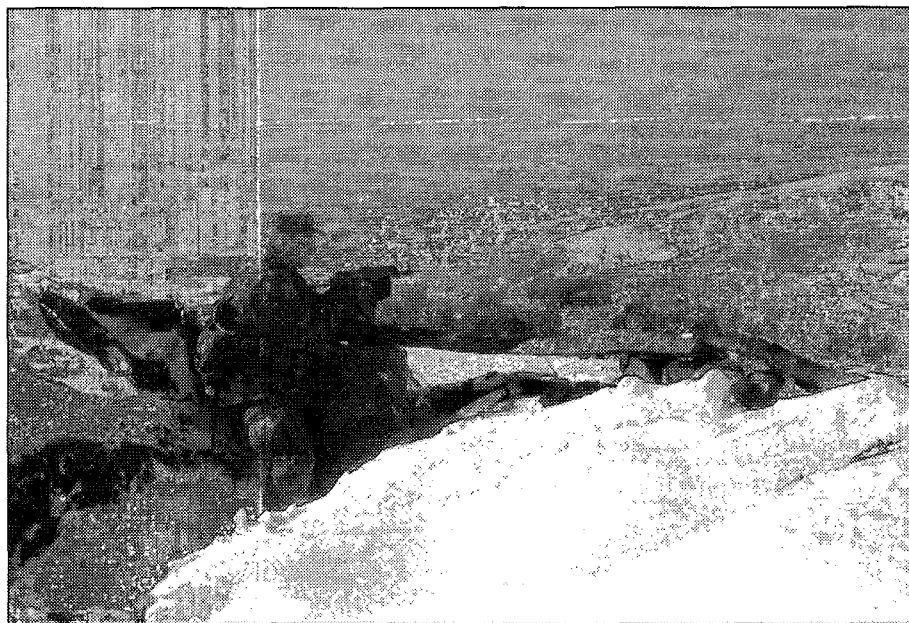
"At the end of the war, the Yugoslavian government positioned its police forces from Kosovo in this region," says Shaip Kamberi, president of the Albanian Human Rights Council in Bujanovac. "This made the situation even worse because these forces have significant anti-Albanian sentiments. They were harassing Albanian citizens physically and psychologically."

Kamberi says that when the UCPMB first emerged, local Albanians were confused. "But after they occupied parts of the area, people began looking at them with sympathy. We now have a number of young people from local villages who have joined the UCPMB."

Over the past 14 months, the UCPMB has regularly shelled Serbian

out of the 58-mile-long, 3-mile-wide demilitarized zone separating Kosovo from Serbia. Under the agreement, signed between NATO and Belgrade at the end of the war, only lightly armed Serbian police are allowed to patrol the zone. But the uniformed, armed Albanian forces, supposedly banned from entering the area, now run it almost entirely. It is from the eastern part of Kosovo, patrolled primarily by U.S. forces, that the UCPMB are penetrating the zone, carving pockets deeper into Serbia proper. As Yugoslavia's Secretary of Defense Milovan Coguric says: "It's a zone of insecurity."

In November, Serbian security forces and the UCPMB agreed to a de facto cease-fire after three Serbian police officers were killed in the village of Dobrosin. But in early February, as the newly elected government in Belgrade began winning increased international



A Serbian police officer watches over Bujanovac.

villages, launched grenades into police and army posts, and opened fire on Yugoslavian security forces with sniper rifles and heavy machine-guns. They have killed 11 police officers, one soldier and eight civilians, according to official government sources. The attacks, numbering well into the hundreds, have destroyed scores of homes and wounded dozens of civilians.

The UCPMB, an offshoot of the Kosovo Liberation Army, is operating

backing for its plan for the area, which includes greater integration of Albanians into government institutions and local police forces, as well as hundreds of thousands of dollars in economic aid, the UCPMB launched some of the most intense attacks in months, shelling the Serbian villages of Lucane and Veliki Trnovac.

These attacks came just hours before the arrival of the top two U.S. diplomats for Yugoslavia, Ambassador

MILIKOVIC

William Montgomery and special envoy James Pardew. As the armored convoy carrying the two diplomats traveled to a Serbian police checkpoint in Lucane, UCPMB forces fired two sniper rounds from the neighboring mountains. The convoy sped away.

Yugoslavian President Vojislav Kostunica's government has ordered its forces, clearly better-armed, better-trained and greater in number than the UCPMB, not to take action. Serbian forces are to respond to attacks only if they face an imminent threat. "Our forces don't need more than one day to resolve this situation militarily," says Rasim Ljajic, Yugoslavia's federal minister for ethnic and national communities, who recently served as a special envoy to the region. "But what comes after this? We would endanger the lives of the remaining Serbs in

Kosovo. They would become like clay pigeons for the Albanians."

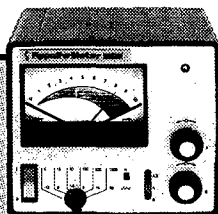
Yugoslavian and Serbian officials say the aim of the UCPMB is to provoke its security forces into a radical response to demonstrate that the new government is no different than the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. But Belgrade is giving the international community, mainly the forces of KFOR in Kosovo, time to make good on its pledges to defuse the situation. "We believe that we can solve this problem in a peaceful manner, together with the international community," says Coguric. "But it's never too late for a war."

On the frontlines among Serbia's Special Police Force, patience with diplomacy is wearing thin. "We are certainly in a state of emergency because terrorists are actually carrying out attacks in Serbia proper," says Col. Goran Radosavljevic from a muddy trench during a UCPMB attack.

Radosavljevic, the newly appointed head of Serbia's most elite force, became a national hero during the revolt against Milosevic: He was one of three senior commanders who refused orders to have his troops fire on demonstrators. "Actually declaring an official state of emergency is not our jurisdiction," Radosavljevic adds. "That's something the government does."

Another top Serbian police official says they are expecting even heavier attacks by the UCPMB over the next few weeks. If the international community fails to take action as promised, Belgrade will have a difficult time convincing not just the security forces, but the Serbian people as well, that a diplomatic solution exists. ■

*Jeremy Scahill was one of the few foreign journalists in Belgrade during the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic. He frequently reports for Pacifica's Democracy Now!*



## Appall-o-Meter

By David Futrelle

### Shooting the Shit 8.8

What's brown and sounds like a bell? Oddly enough, the answer to this question—dung!—is also an answer to this question: What secret ingredient did security forces in Davos, Switzerland have at their disposal to use against antiglobalization protesters? According to *Business Week*, Swiss security forces spiked their water cannons with liquefied cow manure. "Asked about it," *Business Week* reported, "one heavily armed policewoman in Davos smiled brightly and remarked: 'At least it's organic'."

### Out, Damned Bribes! 8.1

To protect local street merchants from corrupt police officers and other officials bent on extorting money from them, Bangkok Gov. Samak Sundaravej called up some reinforcements from the dark side, invoking a deadly curse against the bad guys in blue. "May city police officers extorting money from street vendors, as well as those involved in racketeering to serve these corrupt officials, perish from the earth and meet their downfall," he declared in a written statement quoted by Thailand's *Nation* newspaper. "May their lives be forever ruined and never to flourish."

The governor has vowed to have the curse posted in every district police office, the paper reports. Samek resorted to the curse only after his attempts to fight corruption in more, well, normal ways were unsuccessful, complaining, as the *Nation* put it, "that city police seemed to believe his order banning them from taking 'tea money' from street vendors was something of a joke."

### Say it with Flowers 5.4

To paraphrase Al Capone: You get further with a gun and a kind word than you can with just a gun. That was apparently the logic behind the recent sentence meted out to a man who had robbed a Scottish bakery armed with a gun, albeit a toy one. The judge, one Lord Reed, apparently felt that since the gun was fake the punishment should be as well.

Instead of putting the criminal behind bars, he sentenced him to community service—and told him to send the victims a nice note. "You would do well to make some significant gesture of apology to the ladies affected," Lord Reed announced at the High Court in Edinburgh. "Deliver to each of them a large bunch of flowers with a letter of apology."

The shop assistants are having none of it. "I had a gun pointed at me," one told London's *Daily Mirror*. "At the time, I had no idea it was a toy. I would have thought he should have been jailed. He can stuff the flowers."

### Over the Rainbow 4.2

Seattle isn't always a gloomy place. Recently, residents were treated to a glorious rainbow. The sight, alas, was novel enough to startle some local drivers. Before it was all over, the rainbow had caused a 12-car pileup on a local highway. "Our reports are that ... people were kind of looking at the rainbow, very distracted," a Washington State Patrol spokeswoman told Reuters. "Between the wet street and the inattention, we believe that's what began this whole thing. We're very fortunate not to have any fatalities."





# 10 Days that Shook Ecuador

## IMF reforms spark nationwide uprising

By Michael Laslett

QUITO, ECUADOR—A struggle between indigenous organizations protesting IMF austerity measures and the government paralyzed Ecuador for 10 days in early February.

Last year, Ecuador suffered nearly 100 percent inflation which, combined with the dollarization of the economy, slashed Ecuadorians' savings and purchasing power. The government began a process of privatization, starting with the country's water supply. Meanwhile, indigenous communities watched the ongoing exploitation of their traditional lands for oil exploration and other types of resource extraction.

In December, President Gustavo Noboa implemented IMF-recommended austerity measures to reduce inflation and debt. The government raised bus fares (the main form of transportation for most Ecuadorians) by 75 percent and increased the price of gasoline by 25 percent.

In response, the three main indigenous organizations in Ecuador—Conaie, Fenocin and Feine—forged an alliance and mobilized tens of thousands of protesters. They demanded a repeal of the price increases, the implementation of a national currency, investment in social services, the dismantling of the agreement between Ecuador and the IMF, and autonomy for indigenous communities. They also blockaded highways throughout the country, causing shortages and skyrocketing prices. The blockades became a flashpoint between protesters and the military.

As the uprising escalated, students, environmentalists, intellectuals and artists joined in. Quito residents brought food, medicine and clothing to the

thousands camped at Catholic-run Salesiana University.

On January 30, the government arrested the main leaders of the indigenous movement, charging them with subversion. But due to intense public pressure, they were released from prison two days later and negotiations were scheduled.

A first attempt at negotiations failed when the government rejected the indigenous groups' request to meet directly with Noboa. The president then declared a state of emergency. Protesters began a hunger strike and confrontations with the police became more violent.

On February 5, a clash between 5,000 protesters and the military in the Amazonian community of Tena left two people dead and several more wounded. Protesters eventually dislodged the military from the local airport and burned down the control tower. By the end of the day, the crisis had reached such extreme proportions that Noboa finally agreed to sit down and negotiate directly with indigenous leaders.

The government and indigenous organizations signed an agreement on

February 7 that included concrete economic relief for Ecuadorians, decreased bus fares and more spending on social services. The government also agreed to immediately free all people arrested during the protests, suspend legal proceedings against movement leaders, pay damages to the wounded and the families of those who were killed, and return all property confiscated from protesters. Thousands marched through the streets of Quito in victory. But the uprising had taken its toll. According to the Red Cross, four people were killed, 80 more wounded and 910 had been arrested.

Although the 10-day uprising had not reversed the dollarization of the economy or removed IMF policies, protesters and observers celebrated. "The indigenous movement won four essential points," says Alexandra Almeida of Oilwatch, an Ecuadorian NGO. "It forced the government to negotiate at the highest level. It won the respect of much of the population despite centuries of anti-indigenous racism, and it made gains for all Ecuadorians." ■

## THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW

**IF REAL-LIFE JOB INTERVIEWS WORKED LIKE THE SENATE CONFIRMATION PROCESS**

I'LL BE HONEST WITH YOU, BOB—I'M SOMEWHAT CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT YOU BURNED YOUR PREVIOUS EMPLOYER'S BUSINESS TO THE GROUND AFTER YOU WERE FIRED FOR EMBEZZLEMENT.

I APPRECIATE YOUR CANDOR, SIR!



I'M ALSO TROUBLED BY THE LARGE STOCKPILE OF WEAPONS, EXPLOSIVES, AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY THE POLICE DISCOVERED IN YOUR HOME.

THAT'S VERY FORTHRIGHT OF YOU, SIR!



NOT TO MENTION YOUR BELIEF THAT YOU HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY CHOSEN BY THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL TO CLEANSE THE CITY OF FILTH AND CORRUPTION BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.

I CANNOT DENY THAT I AM A MAN OF DEEPLY-HELD FAITH, SIR!



WELL, ALL RIGHT, THEN—I GUESS YOU'RE HIRED.

OF COURSE I AM, SIR! WHO EVER HEARD OF A JOB APPLICANT BEING REJECTED?



TOM TOMORROW © 2001

## Speaking Terms

Last-minute talks rescue  
Colombian peace process

By Gary M. Leech

SAN VICENTE DEL CAGUAN, COLOMBIA—The leader of the rebel Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), 70-year-old Manuel "Sureshot" Marulanda, met with Colombian President Andres Pastrana in early February and agreed to return to the negotiating table. In return, Pastrana will extend the rebel safe haven ceded to the FARC two years ago until October 9.

The peace talks are expected to resume with discussions of a ceasefire, although many Colombians remain skeptical of an actual cessation of hostilities. The two leaders did not announce any agreement on the rebel group's demands regarding the implementation of Plan Colombia—the U.S. government's \$1.3 billion aid package. But the government has agreed to form a commission to investigate right-wing paramilitary groups.

Pastrana, who was elected in 1998 on a platform of peace, withdrew all police and army troops from an area the size of Switzerland in southern Colombia in January 1999 in return for the FARC's participation in peace talks. The talks are aimed at ending 40 years of violence between the government, paramilitaries and leftist guerrillas that has killed 35,000 and displaced more than 1.5 million Colombians in the past decade. But peace talks have been stalled since the FARC walked away from the negotiating table in November, alleging the government is not doing enough to curtail the activities of the paramilitaries. In the past month alone, paramilitaries have been blamed for at least 25 massacres resulting in 184 civilian deaths.

Critics of Pastrana's land-for-peace experiment claim that the rebels do not need a safe haven in which to conduct talks if they refuse to negotiate. But the president received a boost in January when thousands marched through the

streets of several Colombian cities in support of the peace process, which the FARC said would have ended if the zone had been terminated.

In the weeks leading up to Pastrana and Marulanda's meeting, the Colombian army sent reinforcements to the zone's perimeter, including a dozen light tanks and more than 3,000 soldiers. Many Colombians feared a decision not to renew the zone would have resulted in all-out war in this remote Amazonian region. "Pastrana has to renew the zone," said a San Vicente taxi driver. "Or Carlos Castano and his paramilitaries will follow the army into the town and kill everyone who collaborated with the FARC over the past two years."

Reputed ties between paramilitaries and the Colombian army have led many, including the European Union and human rights organizations, to criticize the military emphasis of Plan Colombia. Most of the aid is going to



Andres Pastrana greets Manuel Marulanda.

the army, with U.S. forces currently training three new anti-narcotics battalions. Fifteen of the Plan Colombia's 60 helicopters arrived in December. The army will use them to combat the FARC in the southern region of Putumayo, where many peasants cultivate coca in FARC-controlled areas.

But for the next eight months, the residents of San Vicente will remain relatively safe from the violence that is devastating this country. Says Mayor Nestor Ramirez Valero, "The agreement has avoided a dirty war waged indiscriminately by the paramilitaries against the residents of San Vicente." ■

## Fowl Behavior

Tyson uses subpoena to  
intimidate grassroots groups

By Kari Lydersen

Tyson Foods is the biggest seller of chicken in the world. And in an industry that is known for severe labor violations, it could also be considered the worst.

Chicken consumption has more than doubled in the United States over the past 20 years, and industry profits have risen more than 300 percent. But the prosperity the poultry industry is enjoying hasn't affected workers. Real wages for the approximately 250,000 poultry workers in the United States have remained stagnant over the past decade, with average earnings of \$6.74 an hour. The industry is almost completely controlled by five major corporations, who set labor and wage standards with little fear of competition.

Jobs at Tyson are so dangerous, strenuous and low-paying that the turnover is around 75 percent annually. In 1999 Tyson was named one of the "10 Worst Corporations of the Year" by *Corporate Crime Reporter*, based on seven worker deaths, fines from the Occupational Health and Safety Administration in several states, and other labor violations.

Tyson has a long history of union-busting and pulling out all the stops to fight its opponents. Many of its operations have been transferred to right-to-work states in the South in an attempt to avoid union organizing.

Tyson workers each put in hundreds of hours of overtime a year, partly because they are not paid for the lengthy process of putting on, removing or cleaning their required protective gear. In June, 6,000 workers signed on to a lawsuit in Alabama charging Tyson with violations totaling at least \$100 million a year in unpaid labor. This is nothing new: A recent Justice Department study showed that 100 percent of poultry corporations in the United States are guilty of wage and hour violations. Jill Cashen, spokeswoman for the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union, notes that at least 50,000 of Tyson's



roughly 60,000 workers could be eligible to join the lawsuit.

In January, Tyson subpoenaed all poultry-industry-related records from a variety of religious, social justice and labor groups, claiming the documents are necessary for their defense in the Alabama case, even though some of the groups aren't even plaintiffs in the lawsuit. Representatives of these groups see the move as a strong-arming tactic meant to intimidate opponents and burden the resources of these grassroots organizations. "This isn't about their defense," says Leone Jose Bicchieri of the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice. "We're not even a party in the lawsuit. This is just an excuse for them to find out what we have on them." (Tyson spokesman Ed Nicholson declined to comment for this story.)

Like the workers in Tyson plants, both chicken farmers and catchers suffer terrible working conditions and face intimidation from the company. The UFCW and the National Interfaith Committee report that farmers are often forced to sign illegal contracts, many times with sections left blank that are filled in later. If they attempt to organize or complain about their conditions, they are punished with diseased chicks and moldy or wet feed. Their contracts usually tie them to one company, and breaking those ties likely leads to being blacklisted by other companies.

Like many low-wage, high-stress agricultural operations, the poultry industry is increasingly relying on immigrant laborers from Latin America. Since these workers usually don't speak English, don't know their rights and are often undocumented, there is less danger of them organizing a union or fighting for their rights.

The Interfaith Committee is trying to force Tyson to sign a uniform code protecting workers rights. Though Bicchieri says, "Tyson does not seem interested in taking a leadership role in the improve-



It's not much better for the workers at Tyson's slaughterhouses.

FARM SANCTUARY

ment of our nation's poultry industry."

In Missouri, thanks to a deal brokered by Democratic state Sen. James Mathewson in 1998, Tyson gained access to a labor market perhaps even more captive and desperate than immigrants: welfare recipients. Mathewson's bill, the Direct Job Placement Program, sends welfare recipients who need to meet work quotas in order to continue receiving benefits directly to Tyson. If they refuse to work there, their benefits are cut off for 60 days, regardless of extenuating circumstances such as pregnancy or lack of transportation. "Tyson was expanding and they approached me about finding a way to meet their hiring needs," says Mathewson. "Interestingly, many people chose to take themselves off welfare because they didn't want to work at Tyson." ■

## Amazon.combat Company layoffs just happen to coincide with union drive

By Silja J. A. Talvi

SEATTLE—With the holiday shopping frenzy safely behind it, Amazon.com surprised both employees and stockholders on January 30 with the announcement of a 15 percent reduction in its work force, laying off of some 1,300 employees.

At first glance, Amazon's announcement simply looked like the latest in the flood of dot-com troubles. But union

organizers are now charging that Amazon's timing is suspicious—the layoffs include the company's original customer service center in Seattle, which employs 400 people and is the heart of a union drive (see "Amazon Workers on the Move," January 8). Roughly 25 percent of the Seattle customer service representatives have signed union cards since October, citing concerns about job security, low wages and mandatory overtime.

The move to eliminate the Seattle center is strictly a cost-saving measure, according to Amazon, which recently announced a 44 percent increase in net sales from the same quarter in 1999. The company also denied that there is any relationship between the closure and the growing unionization effort, pointing instead to the high labor and real estate costs associated with operating the Seattle office.

Union organizers and the Seattle-based Washington Alliance of Technology Workers (WashTech) indicated they would ask the National Labor Relations Board to investigate whether the company targeted the Seattle employees because of their union activity.

In addition to the Seattle union drive, both the United Food and Commercial Workers and the Prewitt Organizing Fund, a labor group based in Washington, D.C., have spent the better part of the past year trying to unionize roughly 5,000 warehouse workers at Amazon's seven U.S. distribution centers. One of the centers in McDonough, Georgia will close by March 31.

Meanwhile, Amazon's plan to outsource customer service operations to New Delhi-based Dakish.com is underway. The Indian employees will be paid less than the U.S. minimum wage. According to WashTech, Amazon assured its Seattle employees that this decision would not result in layoffs.

According to Barclayo, Amazon has offered up to 12 weeks severance pay and \$500 if employees stay on until May 4. Workers also can relocate to other customer service sites in North Dakota and West Virginia, but at lower wages. "I don't doubt that this generosity is in response to the efforts to unionize," Barclay says. "It's an attempt to save face so they can say they treated us well." ■



# No One Here But Us Rich Guys

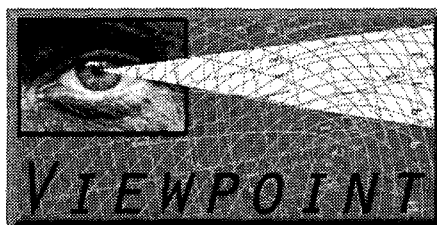
**P**resident Bush's announcement that he intends to spend \$1.6 trillion in projected revenues—the so-called “surplus”—on a 10-year tax cut is in itself nothing to get worked up about; after all, this is something he has long promised. What is galling is that so many journalists, particularly pundits and editorial writers, refuse to describe what Bush is really up to—transferring a massive amount of the nation's wealth to the richest 1 percent of the U.S. population in the guise of a tax cut.

In announcing his plan, Bush said, “A lot of people feel as if they have been looking through the window at somebody else's party. It is time to fling those doors and windows open and invite everybody in.” Yeah, to clean up. Indeed, under the Bush plan a family with a \$1 million income would benefit to the tune of \$46,094—enough to hire two full-time servants.

The *Chicago Tribune* sees things differently. A *Tribune* editorial put it this way: “Yes, [Bush's proposal] will give the wealthy a sizable tax cut, it will also reduce to zero the income tax burden of thousands of lower-income Americans.” Not quite. According to an analysis by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, more than 12.2 million low- and moderate-income families with children—31.5 percent of all families—would not receive any tax cut under Bush's proposal, since they don't pay any income tax. On the other hand, about 43 percent of the tax-cut dollars, or \$688 billion, would go to families making more than \$900,000. All of which led Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minnesota) to quip, “The Bush plan is like Robin Hood in reverse.”

Yet the *Tribune* insists on describing the Bush tax boondoggle as “fair” and “simple.” It would seem that their editorial judgment has been addled by the fact that the *Tribune* Company's top brass will end up doing very well if people are convinced that what Bush is doing is very good. For example, *Tribune* CEO John Madigan and his family stand to reap, based on his 1999 salary of \$2.56 million, at least \$155,000 from the Bush tax cut.

Few newspapers, if indeed any, have championed the fairer alternative that has been proposed by the Progressive Caucus. Known as the American People's Dividend, this plan, which was conceived by Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vermont), would provide every



American with a \$300 check every year over the next 10 years, as long as revenues remain at the level currently projected. Sander's plan would cost \$900 billion (\$700 billion less than Bush's). “Our premise is based on the fact that Americans, rich and poor, helped build the surplus,” says Sanders, “and therefore everyone should get an equal part of that surplus—not just the wealthy.”

Endorsing the proposal, Progressive Caucus member Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-New York) said, “When the president talks about the \$25,000-a-year waitress serving coffee to the \$250,000-a-year lawyer and how both of them would get tax relief, he's right. But the waitress can buy another cup of coffee with her tax cut while the lawyer will be able to buy the whole diner.”

At its Los Angeles meeting, the AFL-CIO endorsed the Progressive Caucus' plan after a briefing by House Minority Whip David Bonior (D-Michigan). “It's one way to have a tax cut that reaches everybody equally,” said AFL-CIO Secretary Treasurer Richard Trumka.

Don't expect to hear much about this proposal. Such discussion is apparently outside the parameters of mainstream discourse. *Newsweek* ignored the proposal in its “Tax Cuts & You” cover

story. And on ABC's *This Week*, Cokie Roberts informed viewers, “Well, I think it's going to be an across-the-board rate cut, and there are no Democrats arguing against that anymore.” No, just the 55 members of the Progressive Caucus and, now, the entire leadership of the AFL-CIO.

With an American People's Dividend, a couple eking out an existence in low-paid service jobs would get \$600, as would Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill and his wife, Nancy. Under Bush's plan, the working-poor couple would receive next to nothing, while Paul and Nancy O'Neill, if he were to make this year what he did last year as CEO of Alcoa (\$57 million), would net about \$2.6 million.

Understandably, O'Neill is quick to defend the plan from critics who characterize it as a giveaway to the rich. “I don't think this society should still be operating with a robber-baron premise as the basis for how we discuss public policy,” he told the *Washington Post*. “I think it is really corrosive to have this argument about the rich and the poor.”

Going on the morning TV circuit, O'Neill said that the Democrats “don't

**“I think it is really corrosive to have this argument about the rich and the poor,” says Paul O'Neill, who made \$57 million last year.**

understand that what people who have substantial income do with their money is they reinvest it in the economy so we can create more jobs.” What's more, the little people—those who won't get a “substantial reflow of money,” as he calls it—can do their part too.

In testimony before the House Ways and Means committee, O'Neill explained that the tax plan was needed since “getting money in people's pockets quickly will enable Americans struggling with consumer debt to pay their credit card bills and get ready for another consumer-led expansion.” ■



# Save Pacifica Before It's Sold

Since my on-air resignation on January 31 from Pacifica's national daily news show, *Democracy Now!*, and my call for a nationwide campaign to oust the Pacifica Foundation's board of directors, thousands of listeners responded with e-mails and phone calls. By an overwhelming margin, they expressed support for my actions. Many asked how they could help.

A few, however, were confused about one of the tactics I am urging—a national listener boycott of funds to Pacifica. Along with some activists who have been fighting the corporate takeover of Pacifica, and many staff members at the five Pacifica stations, those few worry that a listener boycott risks destroying the only independent, left-wing radio network in the country. Those concerns should not be dismissed lightly. Neither should they be accepted outright.

A complex and vibrant mass movement has emerged throughout this country during the past few years out of the battle over the future of Pacifica. This movement reflects the increasingly critical role that modern instruments of mass communication play in shaping public consciousness, especially in politics, culture and society. The fight to control the dissemination of information—or in our case, to preserve what little space remains for dissenting views—is pivotal for the viability of any social movement.

Pacifica's five FM radio stations were regarded for years by the politically powerful in this country as irrelevant gadfly operations. But as the mass media's role as a vehicle for social control grew, so did the importance of this small independent network based in five of the nation's key metropolitan areas—Houston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco and Washington.

Before most listeners realized it, control of the Pacifica Foundation, which operates the five stations, fell into the hands of a group of directors with no connection to the radical and peace movements that gave birth to the network. Those directors quickly changed the foundation's by-laws to create a self-perpetuating board and remove all public accountability.

Several of them apparently fancy themselves trailblazers for black empowerment. This group includes former chairwoman Mary Frances Berry, head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; Bertram Lee, a media entrepreneur and former Denver Nuggets owner; John Murdock of the



notorious union-busting law firm of Epstein, Becker, Green; and Ken Ford of the National Association of Home Builders. For nearly two years now, one of the consistent messages emanating from the board has been that middle-aged white radicals within Pacifica are resisting leadership from blacks.

The main thing this "black leadership" has sought to do, assisted by others on the board, is to increase audience ratings by turning to a heavier music format at the Houston and Washington stations. It repeatedly has censored

Pacifica news shows and conducted several purges of staff throughout the network. It has allowed a campaign of harassment against the network's best-known journalist, my former co-host Amy Goodman, who has opposed the board policies at every turn. And it is methodically paving the way for the possible sale of some of the Pacifica stations.

Those who believe it is still possible to reason with this board, or that the network will survive as a progressive media outlet with the current group in charge, are deluding themselves. Only two viable options remain for saving Pacifica from these hijackers.

The first is the legal route. There are three lawsuits against the board currently making their way through the California courts. One is from a listener's group, another from dissident board members, a

third from the Pacifica local advisory boards. But legal battles are agonizingly slow and costly, and the appeals process can drag on for years.

The second option is an all-out political and economic assault on the Pacifica board. To achieve success, that assault must have two ingredients: a drive to cut off as much of Pacifica's income as possible (85 percent of the network's budget comes from listener donations), and a campaign directed against each board member responsible for the current situation, seeking to force their resignation and create a democratically accountable board.

Neither of these options excludes the other, but the latter creates a means by which each Pacifica listener can "vote" in a nationwide referendum on the current board's policies. Should the boycott become effective, the Pacifica board will no doubt threaten to sell a station or lay off employees. But any attempt to sell a station license will face numerous new court hearings, since the very legitimacy of the current Pacifica board is already being challenged with lawsuits. In addition, fed-

**Don't allow the only American radio network built by radicals to be hijacked.**

eral regulations require a process of public comment and hearings by the FCC for the sale of a radio license. Any attempt to sell a Pacifica station would unleash enormous popular resistance. Meanwhile, the board would be deprived of the money to hire union-busting lawyers, security guards or slick PR firms, since FCC regulations do not allow radio stations to borrow money against the value of their licenses.

Are there risks in such a frontal assault? Of course. But Pacifica listeners around the nation are among the most seasoned and sophisticated activists in the United States. Those listeners, I believe, will not allow the only radio network built by America's radical movement to be hijacked by a bunch of petty capitalists.

To join the Pacifica Campaign, go to [www.pacificacampaign.org](http://www.pacificacampaign.org) or call 212-871-9322. ■

# Do or Die

By David Moberg  
LOS ANGELES

**A**fter half a decade with John Sweeney at the helm of the AFL-CIO, whose executive council held its winter meeting here in mid-February, there's a sense in the top ranks of the union movement of both accomplishment and inadequacy, progress and stagnation, potential power and continued vulnerability. There is a widespread feeling that the "revolution" of 1995—when Sweeney's slate won the first contested battle for leadership of the labor movement in a century—has mainly pointed in the right direction, but that reform must be dramatically intensified and infused throughout the ranks of union members if the labor movement is going to survive, let alone flourish.

The good news is that organized labor as a social institution, and its "working families agenda" for American society, has broad and growing support from the public. A new Peter D. Hart Research Associates poll for the AFL-CIO, for example, found that 41 percent of the public views unions positively, and only 24 percent holds negative views—compared to a 35 percent to 34 percent margin of positive-versus-negative views in 1993. The greatest improvement in views about unions was among blacks and young people aged 18 to 29. And now 42 percent of nonunion, nonmanagerial workers say they would vote for a union, a jump of more than one-third since 1984.

Last fall's election also demonstrated unions' ability to effectively organize their members' households to go to the polls and vote for candidates that unions supported, mostly Democrats. In elections, as well as organizing and legislative fights, unions are realizing the power of mobilizing their members to educate and motivate co-workers and community allies.

The bad news is that despite extraordinary efforts by unions, George W. Bush is president, and Congress and the White House are both controlled by Republicans for the first time since 1954. The outcome may have been different if the votes had been fairly counted, but, in the end, labor bet the farm on the Democrats and is now landless. Union leaders worry that labor will be under siege, facing dozens of defensive battles in Congress against efforts to cripple union political operations, reverse crucial workplace safety regulations, and nibble away at workers rights and union power through investigations, legislation and executive orders.

Labor's problems are not just political, however. If a recession or even a mild slowdown develops, many workers will



lose their jobs, and union analysts project that unions will disproportionately and permanently lose more members in a downturn than they will gain during a recovery. Also, after several years of gains in organizing that had stopped unions' decline in their share of the work force, membership numbers dropped again last year. Even the unions that had been leaders in organizing before 1995 still have a long way to go in transforming themselves, and a majority of unions have, at best, just started to develop an organizing strategy.

**D**espite these grim prospects, organized labor is better prepared to resist attacks and continue to press for at least some of its agenda than it was in the Reagan era, when Democrats still controlled the House. Politically, union strategists plan to continue to press for prescription drug coverage under Medicare, a strong patients bill of rights, a higher minimum wage, campaign finance and election procedure reform, and immigrant rights, including a broad amnesty for current immigrants without proper papers. For starters, labor will be fighting the Bush tax cuts as "bad economic policy and morally wrong," as the AFL-CIO's official resolution states. But the battle will be as much to keep Democrats from joining in the tax cut frenzy as in combating Republicans.

The narrowness of the Republican victory, combined with the strong public support for union positions on these issues, makes some union strategists hopeful that they can win legislative victories even under current conditions. But now more than ever, the effectiveness of insider lobbying in Washington is limited. There is growing recognition that political victories will only come through large-scale mobilization of union members through direct contact at the workplace and alliances with community, faith-based, environmental, civil rights and immigrant rights advocates that labor has cultivated in recent years.

At the same time, some union leaders, like Andy Stern, president of the Service Employees Union (SEIU), think that

ILLUSTRATION: TERRY LABAN



the labor movement can focus on winning victories at the state level, especially in expansion of health care coverage, that could build for victories at the national level. With the Bush administration attempting to pre-empt Democratic issues with its emphasis on "compassionate conservatism," Stern argues that labor above all must focus on issues, not partisan politics, and be prepared to work with Republicans as well as to fight against their attacks.

The attacks are guaranteed. Conservative Republicans and business groups have already decided to try to overturn the new regulations for workplace ergonomics, which Clinton promulgated after 10 years of hearings and reviews. Besides court challenges, the GOP will attempt to activate legislation passed in 1996 but never implemented that would not only overturn the new rules, but prohibit the Occupational Safety and Health Administration from issuing any other ergonomics regulations until Congress voted to do so. The AFL-CIO is already gearing up a major grassroots campaign to protect the new rules, building on the network of safety advocates who fought for them for so long.

There is widespread confidence that the labor movement can defeat any attempt by Bush to poison campaign finance legislation by including a provision for "paycheck protection"—requiring union members individually to give written permission for use of their dues money for political action. But in the states, they expect Republicans to continue pushing the idea, as well as a new round of "right-to-work" legislation, starting with Oklahoma, that would prohibit contracts that mandate union membership or collect dues from all workers in a workplace with union representation.

Bush also is pursuing several other initiatives, some through executive orders that strike at labor, including a requirement that all employers post notification of union

Even though some major corporations in the Business Roundtable have said they could accept some labor and environmental provisions, Bush and his trade representative, Robert Zoellick, have shown no support for such measures.

Labor is gearing up for major fights this spring over efforts to pass fast-track trade negotiating authority and over negotiation of a new NAFTA-like agreement for the Western Hemisphere, the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. As part of a global effort initiated by the International Labor Organization, the AFL-CIO and unions around the world will be pressing employers to put up posters in workplaces, clearly telling workers they have rights to protection against discrimination, child labor and forced labor and the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Sweeney continues to insist he is "hopeful," if not "optimistic," that the labor movement can work with the Bush administration. In her visit to the executive council, new Labor Secretary Elaine Chao diplomatically offered to listen to labor's needs, and even said she would be willing to visit a meatpacking plant to learn about ergonomics issues first hand, but it was clear that she will not be setting major policy.

**A**lthough politics and legislative action demand attention, by far the most important task for the labor movement is dramatically escalating its efforts to organize new members. After organizing 400,000 new members last year, by its own generous count, the AFL-CIO has set a target of 700,000 new members this year and 1 million the next. They plan to do this mainly by exhorting unions to do more to meet their targets. But few unions are even close to the level they must recruit for that goal to be met.

Building on its success in political mobilization, the labor movement will increasingly try to link politics and organiza-

## **For unions the next four years will be a fight for survival**

members' so-called Beck right to request that their dues not be used for politics. (The order was so clearly dusted off from an overturned order of the first Bush administration that it even included the 1991 address of the National Labor Relations Board). At the same time, Bush has delayed implementation of Clinton's last-minute executive order directing government agencies not to buy from corporations that repeatedly violate federal labor, environmental and other laws. Congressional Republicans also are expected to revive legislation to undercut overtime limits, permit managers to establish company-dominated "unions," and weaken enforcement of existing labor laws.

On the trade front, after many years of fighting Clinton, labor and its allies were finally convincing some political and corporate leaders that global agreements cannot proceed without protection of workers rights and the environment. The Clinton administration late last year incorporated such protections into a bilateral deal with tiny Jordan, but it is unclear whether Bush will attempt to derail that agreement.

ing, partly by demanding that officials unions have supported take an active stand on behalf of workers who are trying to organize, but also by making it clear to Democrats that their future is linked to the success of unions in organizing, especially among new citizens. "If we had 5 percent more union members, Gore would be in the White House, and we'd control the House and Senate," argues Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union President John Wilhelm. "The only answer is to organize."

And the only way to do that, he argues, is for the labor movement, both as a whole and as individual unions, to give organizing the focus and resources that are now devoted to politics. It's not clear whether Sweeney, who exhorted the executive council to greater organizing effort, can move the labor movement quickly and forcefully enough, since the better organizing unions have been working for a decade or more to transform themselves and still have far to go. But the crisis is clear. As AFL-CIO organizing director Mark Splain says, "The next two years are do or die." ■

# HOW TO CONFRONT CHALLENGE THE ELITES

BY SASKIA SASSEN

**T**he membership of the World Economic Forum (WEF) that meets each year in Davos, Switzerland, includes the CEOs of most of the world's most powerful corporations. In addition to being the engines driving globalization, these corporations are the cause of much of the world's economically induced environmental damage, mounting debt and escalating impoverishment. They also are responsible for the growing concentration of wealth and the enormous prosperity that has come to about 20 percent of the population in many countries in the world. But with all of this power comes the responsibility and the resources that could make a difference in creating a better and more just world. Perhaps it's time we began looking at Davos as a resource, rather than just a protest venue.

After all, the WEF brings together corporate, government and media elites in a denationalized space where national passions can be put on the back burner for a few days and global issues can be confronted: issues such as mass poverty and worldwide environmental degradation, issues that will require enormous talent, leadership and resources—all of which the elites at Davos proudly tell us they have.

The WEF began in the '70s as the sponsor of discrete, exclusive and informal meetings of mostly European corporate and political elites, largely as a way of resisting the growing power and influence of the United States—that gorilla on the other side of the Atlantic. It has evolved: The '90s were an American decade at the group's annual meetings. With the fall of the Eastern bloc, the WEF's purpose became to reorient elites from around the world toward U.S.-style market policies. But in this century, the WEF appears to have started at least considering the possibility that the U.S. way is less of a miracle formula than had been thought, and that European social capitalism might be a saner option.

The Davos meeting has become a far larger, more international, and more media-oriented event. Also new to Davos are the protesters. This year the police went to extreme measures to keep the protesters out—fencing off the resort with barbed wire and using water cannons spiked with liquid manure to prevent protesters from ascending the hill to the Alpine village. And the WEF spawned an anti-Davos gathering, a first, in Porto Alegre, Brazil—a model environmental city with a well organized socialist government. Largely planned and attended by non-U.S. groups, it



AFP/MICHELE LIMINA, EPA/KEYSTONE

brought together more than 10,000 participants, rather than the 3,000 who were expected.

The protests at Davos and the meeting in Porto Alegre are part of a broader global movement that contains an enormous variety of politics—this is not simply a party, or labor, or “the left.” The movement is made up of people who feel entitled to practice politics on the streets of nations where

## Is it time we began looking at Davos as a resource rather than just a protest venue?

they are not citizens. They are conducting themselves as denationalized citizens in a way that interestingly parallels the formalized rights and entitlements that allow corporations to function on an international level. In other words, we are seeing the globalization of citizenship.

**T**his movement can be viewed as unreasonable, ineffective, fringe, whatever. But to do so is a mistake. The demonstrators have already succeeded in putting some of their concerns on the discussion agenda at the WEF meetings and elsewhere. Amid this public clamor, quite a few WEF participants would like the annual meetings to feature more critical debates. And to foster such an engagement, this year the WEF invited dozens of organizations that are critical of



# I GLOBALIZATION

## TAKE IT TO THE STREETS

BY NAOMI KLEIN



AFP/MAURICIO LIMA

ABOVE LEFT: Protesters from Friends of the Earth in Davos.  
ABOVE RIGHT: José Bové rips up Monsanto soybeans in Brazil.

current forms of globalization. Thus this year's agenda for the Davos meeting included as a prominent theme the growing divide between the world's rich and poor. The World Bank has rediscovered poverty, and is actually allocating resources to address some aspects of it. Some corporations are getting worried and including better environmental and labor standards in their planning.

These organizations and firms are acting, in part, out of self-interest to protect themselves. Yet their actions might well be the beginning of more serious responses to mounting pressure. The goal for thoughtful critics should be to detect fissures in the apparatus of power. And in Davos we see an enormity of power confronting the threat of massive epidemics that will inevitably touch the rich, the latest global climate report which paints a truly alarming picture, and the growth of anti-globalization efforts and resources.

Addressing global challenges and securing dialogue among enemies is what the WEF is about. The WEF has long boasted of being ahead of the times in its understanding of major issues, and it has prided itself in being a special type of setting for enemies to meet and engage in difficult dialogue. Indeed, the WEF meetings bring together such an astounding mix of the powerful from so many countries that it provides a special opportunity to innovate. The WEF has brought together warring political actors, such as the Palestinians and the Israelis to discuss the now-defunct Oslo agreement, and it conducted some of the brokering around the wars in ex-Yugoslavia, and so on.

*Continued on page 16*

It looks a little like one of those press conferences announcing a merger between corporate giants: a couple of middle-aged guys shaking hands and smiling into a bank of cameras. Just like on CNN, they assure the world their new affiliation will make them stronger, better equipped to meet the challenges of the global economy.

Only something is askew. More facial hair for one thing: The man on the left has a scruffy beard and the one on the right has a rather distinctive handlebar moustache. And come to think of it, their alliance is not a merger of corporate interests—designed to send stock prices soaring and workers wondering about their “redundancy.”

In fact, the men say, this merger will be good for workers and lousy for stock prices.

Another clue we're not watching CNN: Someone passes a message to the man on the right. It seems the police are threatening him with arrest. That definitely doesn't happen during your average corporate-merger announcement—no matter how flagrantly the consolidation violates antitrust laws.

The man on the left is Joao Pedro Stedile, co-founder of Brazil's Landless Peasants Movement. The man on the right is José Bové, the French cheese farmer who came to world attention after he “strategically dismantled” a McDonald's restaurant to protest a U.S. attack on France's ban on hormone-treated beef. And this isn't Wall Street; it's the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

To read the papers, these men should not be sharing a platform, let alone embracing for the cameras. Third World farmers are supposed to be at war with their European counterparts over unequal subsidies. But here in Porto Alegre, they have joined forces in a battle much broader than any inter-governmental trade skirmish. The small farmers both men represent are attempting to fight the consolidation of agriculture into the hands of a few multinationals, through genetic engineering of crops, patenting of seeds and industrial-scale, export-led agricultural policies. They say that their enemy is not farmers in other countries, but a system of trade that is facilitating this concentration, and taking the power to regulate food production away from national governments.

“Today the battle is not in one country but in every country,” Bové tells a crowd of several thousand. They break into chants of “Ole, Ole, Bové, Bové, Bové” and, in a matter of hours, hundreds are wearing badges declaring, “Somos Todos José Bové” (“We are all José Bové”).

*Continued on page 17*

# THE ELITES

*Continued from page 15*

Of course, the WEF also was one of the vehicles that persuaded elites, after decades of resistance, to open up their countries to foreign investment and global trade, to deregulate and to privatize, in situations where these elites had often resisted such policies for decades. Indeed, in the past decade many of the world's governments turned 180 degrees in their policies regarding foreign investors, privatization, deregulation and opening up to global markets. We cannot simply assume that they all suddenly decided the global market is better—that market has existed for a long time—or that it is the result of the United States and the IMF exercising raw power. It entailed persuasion and resocialization of government officials, an education about what it meant to adequately run a national economy. A whole new culture of government had to be produced, one that drastically redefined the desirable relation between states, global firms and global markets. In brief, it took “cultural work.” Davos is one place where the work of denationalizing elites gets done. But for any of this to succeed will take hard work, not just a few Davos panels filled with the chattering classes examining the negatives.

**W**e need to recognize the power these forums have to reorient the state, corporate and media agenda. It is time for yet another massive reorientation, one that recognizes that environmental damage, terror, massive poverty and neglect of public health affect us all, not only the poor. These are conditions that you cannot buy your way out of; you simply have to work at changing them. The scale, globality and acuteness of these conditions are such that they become the equal, so to speak, of the power, resources and talent of the global elites that gather at Davos.

Would it not be possible to reorient the Davos meetings (as well as the WTO and IMF gatherings) toward getting these global elites to focus on what is emerging as a new global agenda? There is today a far more audible concern with massive levels of poverty, major breakdowns in public health, a sharp growth in the terrorization of civil populations and escalating environmental damage. Some of these conditions or their effects can no longer be isolated from the privileged. If there ever was a task that required global elites to be active participants, it is addressing and working at solving these conditions. The WEF has found its match.

The heads of the thousand corporations that gather at Davos account for an enormous amount of worldwide environmental damage, as well as an enormous share of the resources we could use to address the damage they produce. If this damage came from 3 billion households in the world, it would be far more difficult to deal with than if two-thirds of it came from a limited number of enormously powerful organizations that could, if they decided to do so, reduce the damage substantively.

Davos represents a unique concentration of elites from diverse economic sectors, media outlets and national states—all brought together in one tiny place and primed to be exhorted to change. They did it once, from a national to a global orientation. Can't it be done again, from a destructive globalization to a more humane, just and environmentally sound globalization? Then the hard work of communicating across enemy lines can begin.

This wouldn't solve all problems. But it would mean looking at the WEF and other such organizations as resources precisely because they concentrate both the power to produce so much of the damage and injustice, and the resources to reduce them. ■

*Saskia Sassen is the Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Her most recent books are *Guests and Aliens* and *Globalization and its Discontents*.*

## DESERT CAMOUFLAGE

**A**ctivists looking to voice their concerns about globalization at the next meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) may need to pack their desert survival gear. The embattled WTO is planning to hold its next confab in the city of Doha in the tiny Persian Gulf country of Qatar from November 5 to 9.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, since there weren't any other offers on the table, the organization accepted Qatar's invitation to host the follow-up meeting to the 1999 Seattle conference. “I am very pleased about this,” WTO chief Michael Moore said. “They were the first to make an offer.”

At first, WTO officials turned down Qatar's offer because there weren't enough hotel rooms. However, without a viable alternative, delegates will be lodged on cruise ships, placing them even further

away from any protesters who have the courage to show up in Qatar.

But if protesters are able to make it, they'll be in a country that has no recognizable standards for the protection of civil liberties. “Holding this meeting in Qatar would shut down any possibility of peaceful protest,” says Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch. “The WTO can't avoid public protests by holding a meeting in a country that doesn't allow public protest. That would send the signal that it's O.K. to build the global economy on a foundation of repression—exactly the opposite of the message the WTO should be pronouncing.”

A late January press release from Public Citizen neatly sums up the situation in Qatar: “Qatar does not recognize the right of workers to organize, significantly limits

the right to freely assemble, and maintains limitations on the freedom of the press that dissuade journalists from being critical of the dynastic government.”

Despite the complaints of anti-globalization groups, WTO officials claim that Qatar has promised to allow all critics who so desire to attend. “The WTO would have a much easier time if they just bought a remote island and fortified its coastline to keep the pesky public away,” says John Sellers, head of the Ruckus Society. Nonetheless he's looking into perhaps conducting a desert training camp for activists seeking to disrupt the Qatar meeting. “I'm calling around now looking for desert camouflage.”

At the rate the WTO is going, its next meeting just might be convened on the Mir Space Station. ■

**By Bill Berkowitz**



# THE STREETS

Continued from page 15

This type of cross-border alliance—a globalization of movements—is the real story of the World Social Forum, which ended January 30 and attracted more than 10,000 delegates. After 13 months of international protests against global trade institutions, the forum was a chance to share ideas about social and economic alternatives. It is a new kind of intellectual free trade: a Tobin tax swapped for a “participatory budget”; national referenda on all trade agreements in exchange for local lending alternatives to the International Monetary Fund; farming co-operative models traded for community policing.

But there is one idea with more currency than any other, expressed from podiums and on flyers handed out in hallways, “Less talk, more action.” It’s as if talk itself has been devalued by overproduction—and little wonder. At the same time in Davos, Switzerland, the richest CEOs in the world sound remarkably like their critics: We need to make globalization work for everyone, they say, to close the income gap, end global warming.

Oddly, at the Brazil forum, designed to help talk our way into a new future, it seems as if talking has become part of the problem. How many times can the same story of inequality be told, the same outrage expressed, before that expression becomes a paralyzing, rather than catalyzing, force?

Which brings us back to the two men shaking hands. The reason the police are after José Bové (and why he is being

treated like a cheese-making Che Guevara) is that he took a break from all the talk. While in Brazil, Bové travelled with local landless activists to a nearby Monsanto test site, where three hectares of genetically modified soybeans were destroyed. Unlike in Europe, where similar direct-action has

## At Porto Alegre, it seems as if talking has become part of the problem.

occurred, the protest did not end there. The Landless Peasants Movement has occupied the land and members are planting their own crops, pledging to turn the farm into a model of sustainable agriculture.

Why didn’t they just talk about their problems? In Brazil, 1 percent of the population owns 45 percent of the land. In the past six years alone, 85,000 families have joined the ranks of the landless.

At the first World Social Forum, the most talked-about alternative turns out to be an alternative to talking: acting. It may just be the most powerful alternative of all. ■

Naomi Klein is the author of *No Logo*. A version of this article originally appeared in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*.

Open Call to US Artists and Photographers to Exhibit in Havana, Cuba

## Toxic Landscapes: Artists Examine the Environment

An exhibition of US artists that begins with the landscape – the damaged and the pristine – and moves on to address the issues of urban environmental racism, environmental justice and environmental activism. Included in the exhibition will be a special collection of photography from the archives of GREENPEACE USA.



Sponsored by the Puffin Foundation Ltd. and IFCO/Pastors for Peace at the invitation of the Cuban National Union Artists and Writers (UNEAC). Toxic Landscapes will on display at the Center for the Development of Fine Arts in Old Havana, Cuba from July – September, 2001.



### Eligible Works

- Acrylics or oils on canvas
- Ink drawings on paper or vellum
- Prints on paper
- Photographs

For a prospectus send a SASE to:

Toxic Landscapes  
The Puffin Foundation Ltd.  
20 E. Oakdene Avenue  
Teaneck, NJ 07666-4111

**SUBMISSION DEADLINE**  
MARCH 30, 2001

For more information contact:

Tim Blunk, Puffin Foundation Ltd.  
201-836-8923 • puffinpress@mindspring.com

The Puffin Foundation Ltd. A nonprofit organization #13-3155489 • [www.angelfire.com/nj/PuffinFoundation](http://www.angelfire.com/nj/PuffinFoundation)

# ONE ISLAND DIVIDED

## AFTER 27 YEARS, CYPRUS TAKES CENTER STAGE

BY V.A. OTIS

NICOSIA, CYPRUS

**A**n afternoon stroll through the seemingly sleepy capital of The Republic of Cyprus yields nothing more than postcard-perfect vignettes of life in a typical, mid-size Mediterranean city: winding cobblestone streets, picturesque museums, family-run shops, cats draped over sunny terraces, and a few Gap-like stores frequented by sunburned British tourists. Oh wait—there's also that "Green Line" running down the center of the city, the one that has kept Cyprus divided for the past 27 years.

"Turkey's got access to oil," Katarina Demetrious, a Greek Cypriot tour guide, says to me bitterly as we approach the Green Line. "We have no oil—if we did, the United States would never have allowed this to happen."

Demetrious refers not so much to Turkey's initial military invasion of Cyprus in 1974, but to the occupation the Republic of Cyprus has had to endure. With the exception of a few heated months during the summer of 1974—when Henry Kissinger's name was angrily shouted at protests throughout southern Cyprus and in Washington—the U.S. government and most E.U. member states have done an excellent job of whitewashing Turkey's possession of northern Cyprus. Now, with tensions mounting between Ankara and Brussels—over Turkey's increasingly aggressive bids for E.U. membership—Greek Cypriots are moving back into the international spotlight.

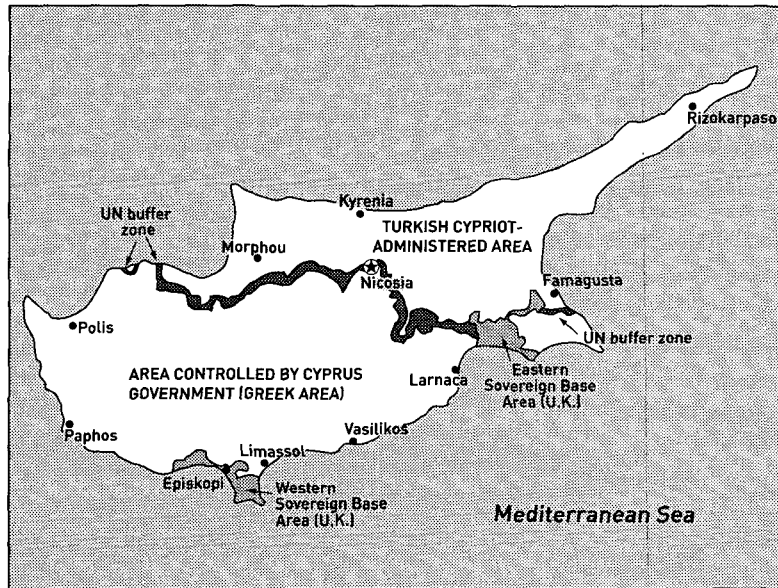
Nicosia's Green Line actually was created at the end of 1963, three years after Cyprus was granted independence from Great Britain. A British commander who was trying to squelch street fighting between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot militias reportedly took a green pen and bisected a map of the city from one side to the other. When Turkey overran a third of Cyprus 11 years later, the line was extended 112 miles across the island. Despite decades of diplomatic assurances from Turkey, the United States and Europe that this division works, the fact remains that the situation in Cyprus is far from satisfactory to the Cypriots themselves.

Per capita, Cyprus is the most militarized country in the world after North and South Korea; there are 35,000 Turkish

and Turkish Cypriot troops, 14,500 Greek and Greek Cypriot troops, and 1,200 U.N. soldiers on the island. Standing on the Greek Cypriot side of the U.N. observation post at the east end of Nicosia, Demetrious and I stare into the buffer zone, about 160 feet of uninhabited space designed to keep the two sides apart. None of the island's 190,000 Turkish Cypriots and Turkish mainland settlers or 655,000 Greek Cypriots can enter the buffer zone without special permission. Squinting as hard as I can, I see nothing but rotting buildings, litter and debris, and just a little farther on, a prominently displayed Turkish flag.

"Where are all the Turkish soldiers?" I ask as we climb down. Greek Cypriot soldiers mill freely around, machine-guns hugging their waists.

"The Turkish government won't place soldiers here because of the observation post," my guide informs me. "They're afraid there could be incidents that would involve tourists."



Turkey invaded in 1974, and has played for keeps ever since.

Under normal circumstances, keeping a lid on the simmering anger around the Green Line isn't a big priority for Turkey—its strategic location during the Cold War practically guaranteed *carte blanche* as far as the Western powers were concerned. But these days, desperate to join the European Union, which it hopes will bring much-needed foreign investment and employment in the country, Turkey is struggling to downplay its militaristic past. Yet even now, more than a decade after the fall of the Berlin Wall, officials from the United States and the European Union are reluctant to move beyond diplomatic wrist-slapping with Ankara over its continued occupation of Cyprus. Both entities feed weapons and funding to the country on a regular basis, although the United States is by far its biggest supplier. A 1999 report by the World Policy Institute documented more than \$5 billion in U.S. arms transfers to Turkey during the Clinton administration alone. In December 2000, the IMF agreed to pump another \$10 billion in credit and loans into Ankara's empty pockets.



Once again, Turkey's geopolitical importance is its trump card. In addition to its long-regarded strategic importance, oil and other natural resources have been discovered in the nearby Caspian Basin, and the United States is loathe to do anything that would anger Turkey and disrupt plans for the Baku oil pipeline. However, as these two governments continue with business as usual, the European Union is growing increasingly nervous about the idea of accepting Turkey as one of its own.

When Turkey first invaded Cyprus in July 1974, it claimed it was protecting the island's Turkish Cypriot community—a remnant of Cyprus' time as an offshoot of the Ottoman Empire. Although the main culture and language of Cyprus has always been Greek, the island has passed through a dizzying array of hands—Byzantine, Frankish, Venetian, Ottoman and, finally in 1878, British. Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities lived together in relative peace under British rule until the 1950s, when a guerrilla movement for independence began to form on the island.

The National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) wanted the British out of Cyprus. The British wanted to retain Cyprus as their Middle East base and involved Turkey in the issue to counter the Greeks at the United Nations. What concerned Turkey—and the Turkish Cypriots—was that the EOKA supported *enosis*, or unification with mainland Greece. The south coast of Turkey lies only 47 miles away from Cyprus, and the Turkish government would not tolerate a Greek military presence so close to its borders.

After a few years of communal violence, the British raised the specter of partition between Greece and Turkey, an unacceptable solution since Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were scattered throughout most of the island. Archbishop Makarios III, the Greek Cypriot leader, agreed to the idea of independence instead of *enosis*. The British arranged a meeting at Zurich with Greece and Turkey to draft an independence accord, with a set number of Greek and Turkish troops to be stationed on the island, sovereign bases for Britain, and constitutional provisions that could not be altered.

The result was a nightmarishly awkward constitution that provided for a Greek Cypriot president, a Turkish Cypriot vice president and a parliament that allotted the Turkish Cypriots, 18 percent of the population, veto power and 30 percent of the parliament and civil service. In 1960 the Republic of Cyprus was born, with Makarios as president. The constitution soon proved unworkable and the violence resumed.

By late 1963, the Green Line was established in Nicosia, but that didn't help. Fighting escalated to the point where the United States, which wanted NATO control of the island to keep the Soviets out and ensure continued operation of U.S. listening facilities that had been established under the British, attempted to introduce a NATO force. Makarios insisted on U.N. peacekeepers instead. Turkish Cypriots fled, or were forced

to flee, into enclaves, raising the possibility of partition. Eventually the violence was brought under control, and inter-communal talks for a new constitution began in 1968. The talks came close to reaching a final agreement in early 1974, but with Cyprus seeming to slip out of the mainland's grasp, both Turkey and the Greek junta in Athens made plans to ensure that didn't happen. In mid-July, a small unit of right-wing Greek officers staged a coup against Makarios and seized control of the government; Turkey's invasion seemed a foregone conclusion.

The United States, which had been given advance notice of the Greek junta's plans, pretended that it was an internal affair and blocked a U.N. Security Council demand for cease-fire. Somewhat later, the Nixon administration dispatched a high-level diplomat, Joseph Sisco, to the region in a belated effort to get Greece and Turkey to agree to a replacement for Makarios. It was too late: 6,000 advance Turkish troops were on their way, landing in Kyrenia, a small village on the north coast of Cyprus.

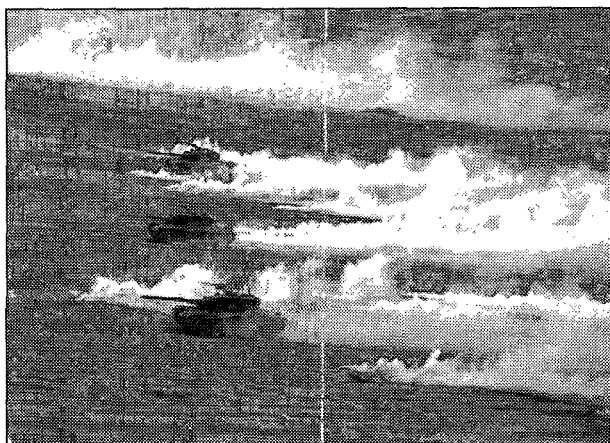
Greek Cypriots who fought against the island junta blamed Nixon for the invasion. Indeed, Nixon's Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, wanted Makarios ousted to bring the island under the control of someone more likely to do NATO's bidding. Kissinger's name was cursed repeatedly in street demonstrations all over the southern half of the island.

To most political observers, Turkey's invasion came as no surprise. Some Greek Cypriots even welcomed it initially, assuming Turkey's presence would rid the island of the fascist junta that drove Makarios into hiding. But when Turkey followed up its initial July invasion with a second one in August, pushing south until it captured the wealthy city of

Famagusta, Greek Cypriots realized Ankara was playing for keeps. All in all, Turkey carved out 37 percent of the island's territory for itself, most of it located on the northern coast.

The Turkish military began a village-by-village expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the occupied area. Greek Cypriots, fearing the realization of Turkey's long-held goal of partition, tried to prevent Turkish Cypriots from fleeing north. In August 1975, an agreement was reached to allow 40,000 Turkish Cypriots to move north under U.N. escort, in exchange for an end to expulsions and the return of some of the 175,000 displaced Greek Cypriots—an agreement only partially honored by the Turkish side. This deal played right into Turkish hands. "Once northern Cyprus was given over to the Turkish Cypriots, Turkey brought in thousands of ethnically Turkish peasants from the Anatolian heartlands," says Heinz Kramer, author of *The Changing Turkey*. "In effect, they repopulated parts of the island to make it more Turkish."

Despite cries of protest from Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots—who also resented the peasants' presence—nobody from the international community came to their aid. In 1983, when the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) finally declared itself to be an independent state—unrecognized by nearly every country except Turkey—all but the most diehard Greek Cypriot refugees realized they would not be going home.



Turkish tanks practice military exercises in northern Cyprus.

REUTERS PHOTO

**T**he European Union is set to inherit the latest phase of this 27-year-old problem. In November, E.U. member Greece persuaded its 14 partners to add resolving the division of Cyprus and long-standing territorial disputes in the Aegean Sea to the list of short-term actions that Turkey must carry out before the start of membership negotiations.

Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit accused the European Union of duping his country by adding obstacles to its membership and trying to meddle into Turkey's internal affairs. Right-wing members of Turkey's National Action Party, who don't support E.U. membership, clamored for a complete withdrawal of Turkey's application. Faced with the threat of a total communication meltdown, Brussels capitulated yet again and appeased Ankara with a modification to the short-term action. Turkey agreed to an "ongoing political dialogue" about Cyprus and other contentious issues, and the European Union agreed "not to specify at this stage" resolution of the Cyprus issue as a prerequisite for membership.

The fly in the ointment in all of this is Cyprus itself. Buoyed by Greece, Cyprus has been placed on the fast track for E.U. membership by 2004. Although most member states would rather not accept Cyprus until "the issue" is resolved, Greece threatened to veto membership applications for Poland and Hungary if Cyprus was not accepted as well. Dedicated to eastern enlargement, the European Union had no choice but to issue ratification papers to Cyprus, which delineate the economic goals the island must achieve prior to acceptance.

With its relatively well-developed infrastructure, heavy tourism industry, and single-minded determination to join the European Union, Cyprus has a major leg up on Turkey, which is saddled not only with economic woes but massive human rights violations. If accepted as an E.U. member, Cyprus would certainly be well within its rights to use its member veto power to force Turkey into a head-to-head dialogue about the occupied territory—something it has been trying unsuccessfully to do for 27 years. "What would Turkey do?" Kramer asks. "It can't invade

## HUNGRY FOR JUSTICE

### POLITICAL PRISONERS PROTEST

### STATE TERROR IN TURKEY

BY MARTIN A. LEE

**F**our days of fierce fighting left 32 people dead and many injured when heavily armed Turkish police and military units stormed 20 jails across the country in late December. The police action was launched to quell a two-month-old hunger strike by more than 1,000 political prisoners, most of whom were incarcerated simply for belonging to organizations that criticized Turkey's military-dominated government.

Using tanks and bulldozers to break into areas where the hunger-strikers were holed up, Turkish security forces encountered furious resistance from inmates. Several prisoners reportedly doused themselves with flammable liquid and lit themselves on fire as Uzi-toting police entered their cells.

Many victims of the raids were members of the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front, a radical leftist group. Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit said the violent crackdown, code-named "Return to Life," was necessary to help "save terrorists from their own terror."

The prison rebellion began in early November when Turkish authorities announced their intention to dismantle the large, dormitory-like wards and transfer inmates to separate, small "F-type" cells. Fearing this would make them more vulnerable to torture and beatings by jail wardens, the prisoners started a hunger strike, which they vowed to continue until the Turkish government relented.

The prisoners' fears of torture and police brutality are certainly justified, according to international human rights groups, which have documented widespread atrocities in Turkey's corruption-ridden penal system. "Torture is a state policy and continues to be used systematically," says Turkish human rights attorney Eren Keskin. "All thinking apart from official thinking is a crime."

If one can measure the value of human life in a society by looking at its prisons, then Turkey is an abomination. The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey estimates that around 1 million people have been tortured in Turkey since the military coup in 1980. At least nine Turkish prisoners are known to have been tortured to death in 1999.

Last year the Turkish government made almost no progress in terms

of key human rights reforms. "While the government procrastinated, politicians and writers were prosecuted and imprisoned for expressing their nonviolent opinions, and detainees in police custody remained at risk of ill-treatment, torture or death," Human Rights Watch reported.

The European Union is concerned about the omnipotent role of the army in Turkish society, including three coups since 1960. Unless the military's influence is checked and the human rights situation improves dramatically, Turkey's application for E.U. membership will founder. Specifically, the European Union has called for the abolition of the death penalty in Turkey, an end to widespread torture, the lifting of constitutional curbs on free expression, and the granting of full cultural rights to the country's Kurdish minority—including the right to educate and broadcast in their own language.

But Kurdish activists are still being arrested and tortured on a regular basis. Turkey is preparing to put on trial 13 Kurdish children, who face a minimum of three years in prison for shouting slogans sympathetic to the banned Kurdistan Workers' Party. The youngest, Yasar Kaya, is nine years old. All the children come from the Kurdish village of Derik, which was forcibly evacuated and burned to the ground by Turkish security forces in 1990. Since the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Turkish troops repeatedly have crossed into northern Iraq to battle Kurdish rebels.

Despite its monstrous human rights record, Turkey continues to enjoy strong support from Washington. Currently the fourth-largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, Turkey stands at a strategic crossroads between Europe and Asia, Christianity and Islam. Bordering Iraq, Syria, and ex-Soviet republics, it maintains the second largest army in NATO, and it also exerts considerable influence in heavily Turkic regions of oil-rich Central Asia.

During the '90s, the Clinton administration approved \$5 billion worth of weapons sales and giveaways to Turkey. (About 80 percent of the Turkish arsenal is U.S.-made.) Without staunch U.S. backing, the Turkish government would not have been able to wage a brutal counterinsurgency campaign against its Kurdish population in southeastern Turkey that killed 35,000 people and razed 3,000 villages, while maintaining a police state in the rest of the country.



Cyprus if it is an E.U. member state, and if it did, the European Union would likely deploy troops there."

In an ironic twist of fate, the Turkish Cypriot community is among the most excited about Cyprus' prospective E.U. membership. Isolated by international policies that refuse to recognize the TRNC as a legitimate state, and vastly outnumbered by their Anatolian counterparts—with whom they have little in common—many Turkish Cypriots spent the summer demonstrating against TRNC leader Rauf Denktas, whom they accuse of blocking negotiation talks with Greek Cypriots.

The Republic of Cyprus has offered Denktas and Ankara several versions of its plan for a unified island, basically one federal government with proportional representation overseeing two relatively independent states. Denktas and Ankara have responded with their version, which insists that the legitimacy of the TRNC government be recognized. Last December, Denktas refused to attend the sixth

round of Cyprus talks in Geneva unless the European Union and United States recognized the TRNC. Neither did, leaving Denktas out in the cold.

Turkey further alienated itself from the West in December, when it refused to give the European Union access to its NATO resources to build a European-based, 60,000-member rapid-reaction force. (Washington was particularly anxious that NATO bases be used so it could share information and keep tabs on E.U. forces.) Turkey feared that these troops could be deployed against it if the situation in Cyprus gets out of hand.

One thing remains clear: The status quo in Cyprus cannot be maintained forever. If the European Union can't bring about a deal before 2005, all the existing rules are going to be broken—and for the first time in its millennia-long life, Cyprus could be the one sitting in the catbird seat. ■

*V.A. Otis, a correspondent for New York's WBAI radio, also writes for The Village Voice and Ms. magazine.*

Although the State Department has acknowledged serious abuses, U.S. officials offered little criticism when Sema Piskinsut, leader of the Turkish Parliament's human rights commission, was forced to relinquish her post in November. During her three-year tenure as chairwoman, the commission had won praise for its daring exposures of human rights violations. Piskinsut conducted several surprise midnight visits to Turkish police stations and prisons, where she found blatant evidence of torture—specially built soundproof cells with exposed electric cables, clubs, lashes and metal bars used to beat suspects, a suspension device known as "the Palestinian hanger," and other instruments of corporal punishment.

Enraged at her for proving that torture was commonplace in Turkey, police and interior ministry officials insisted that she be fired. Piskinsut was abruptly relieved of her duties, and the job of overseeing the parliamentary human rights commission was given to Huseyin Akgul, a member of the far-right National Action Party (NAP), an organization with a violent neofascist pedigree.

Highly praised by Turkey's generals, who have the final say in government policy, the NAP jettisoned some of its more extreme rhetoric when it joined the national governing coalition in 1998. Prior to this point, the NAP was best known for its record of street thuggery and bloodshed. The NAP's late founder and longtime leader, Alpaslan Turkes, had espoused a virulent ethnic nationalist ideology summed up by the slogan "the Turkish race above all others."

The NAP is the parent organization of the Gray Wolves, a neo-Nazi terrorist group that has stalked Turkey since the '60s. A 1996 parliamentary report confirmed that members of the Gray Wolves had participated in the government-sponsored "dirty war" against ethnic Kurds and Turkish dissidents. In cahoots with U.S.-trained and -equipped security forces, ultra-right-wing death squads were responsible for many of Turkey's 14,000 unsolved murders and disappearances that occurred in the past decade.

During the recent hunger strike, police stood by as Gray Wolf militants attacked a building where a prisoners' relatives association met to plan solidarity actions with the fasting inmates. In subsequent street

clashes, extreme right-wing youth flashed their wolf sign as they assaulted a protest march by hunger-strike sympathizers. NAP officials, including Akgul, defended the recent prison raids that sought to crush the prison fast. There was "no excessive use of force" against starving prisoners and "no violations of human rights," Akgul declared shortly after the crackdown.

Human rights organizations tell a different story. A joint statement by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch said that prisoners were systematically abused and tortured during the prison raids and afterward while being transferred to the new cells. Many of these inmates were awaiting trial and had not been convicted of a crime. There were numerous reports of prisoners who had been denied treatment for bullet wounds and other injuries.

Huseyin Diri said his brother, incarcerated in the northwest Turkish city of Izmut, was beaten every morning for refusing to sing the national anthem. Diri told CNN that his brother's face was covered with bruises and that he had to be carried into a visiting room. Other prisoners say they were raped with truncheons. Human rights organizations have been warned that criticism of the F-type prison cells could itself be a criminal offense.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Turkish and Kurdish inmates are still on a hunger strike. Drinking only small amounts of water, many are close to death. Solidarity fasts have spread to jails in France, Germany, Greece, Spain and the Netherlands.

The Turkish government recently announced plans to free half of Turkey's 72,000 prisoners. But the general amnesty does not apply to prisoners of conscience, such as 19-year-old Sevgi Ince, a five-foot-tall woman who walks on crutches. Crippled from torture, she has spent the past four years in a Turkish prison without being told what crime she allegedly committed. It may have something to do with Ince's efforts to locate her disappeared sister. If she ever gets out of prison, Ince says she would like to work in a rehabilitation center for torture victims. But such facilities are illegal in Turkey. ■

*Martin A. Lee is the author of Acid Dreams and The Beast Reawakens, a book on neofascism.*



Atrocities are widespread in the Turkish prison system.

AP/ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY

# Frank's Wild Years

By David Graeber

A lot of people seem to have very strong feelings about Tom Frank, editor of *The Baffler* and author of *The Conquest of Cool* and, most recently, *One Market Under God*. For some, he is the great leftist impresario of

**One Market Under God: Extreme Capitalism, Market Populism, and the End of Economic Democracy**

By Thomas Frank  
Doubleday  
414 pages, \$26

our times, the most brilliant cultural critic of his generation, a witty polemicist, and a man with an uncanny ability to expose American consumer culture's (equally uncanny) ability to co-opt and defang just about every gesture of cultural rebellion a would-be counterculture tries to throw at it.

Others—quite a lot of them, actually—react to the very mention of his name with anger; at times with what can only be described as visceral hatred. I have never understood entirely why. Perhaps, for some, he is an embodiment of frustration. After all, the usual criticism of Frank is that he is content to be a chic prophet of doom, a blander, Americanized version of stylish French theorists of the past like Jean Baudrillard, who have manufactured a kind of romantic heroism out of accepting the total, absolute, paranoid ascendancy of the capitalist/consumer “system,” that the best we can manage is to float above it with a certain ironic detachment, the smirking knowledge that unlike those pathetic dweebs actually trying to fight back somehow, we at least know just how pro-fucked we are.

That would be annoying. But it has always struck me that such criticisms are more than a little bit unfair. Frank is not a nihilist. True, he often does draw a rather bleak picture. True, he doesn't have much to say about how to break out of the box. But why should he? Why should it be up to Tom Frank to come

up with a political strategy for the left? What's wrong with just being a cultural critic? In a way, there is something very pathetic about a lot of this Frank-bashing. Is the American left really so hard up that the moment *anyone* on our side manages to win a bit of notoriety, we then expect him to solve all our problems for us, and then revile him as a false prophet if he doesn't?

In *One Market Under God*, I think Frank has actually done us some excellent service. If nothing else, he has been willing to stoically wade through a mass of inspirational business literature that undoubtedly would have had almost any other researcher of his political sensibili-

approach. It is both deeply cynical and notoriously effective. With one hand, you unleash the power of the market, throwing the world into a tumult of insecurity and all traditional verities into disarray; then, with the other, you offer yourself as the last bastion of order, a stalwart of the authority of churches and fathers against the barbarians one has oneself unleashed. Hence the two wings of the Republican Party: libertarian free-marketeers and the “family values” Christian right.

The problem with this formula, Frank notes, was that it only worked insofar as the battle could be kept on cultural grounds; on bedrock economic issues, most working-class Americans were clearly left of center. So the cultural battles of the '60s, notably, of hardhats versus hippies, had to be reinvented, over and over again, in a thousand different ways: pointy-headed bureaucrats won't let your children salute the flag; dissolute

Hollywood execs married to ex-flower children want to turn your kids against God; hairy lesbian academics promote bad, unfamiliar sorts of sex and drugs that will undermine the wholesome bodies of America ... *only we can defend you!*

By the mid-'90s, Frank argues, capitalism found a new and better formula. The logic went something like this: Capitalism is the result of consumer choices. Anyone who buys a product is, in effect, voting; these billions of daily votes are far more revealing of what people want than a vote they might cast once a year in some election. In buying a corporate product, then, people are in effect indicating their approval not only for that product, but for the entire system of relations which brought that product into existence. Therefore, corporations are an expression of popular will.

This argument in itself was hardly new; capitalists have always liked to talk this way, and the fall of the Berlin Wall made it even easier to do so. In the '90s, what was new was the vigor with which market boosters began to adopt the populist rhetoric that originally had been fashioned a century before to attack the capitalists themselves. If corporations are the expression of popular will, it stands to reason that anyone who might challenge their right



Let's be Frank: Love him or hate him?

ties fleeing in disgust and terror. Frank manages to present it in a way that makes it almost palatable, largely by making fun of it. In doing so, he also makes an interesting historical argument: The late '90s mark the beginning of an entirely new strategy for validating social inequality.

The old strategy, which perhaps had its greatest flowering in the days of Ronald Reagan, was the classic right-wing



to bring those products before the people in any way they see fit is an elitist.

Object to Ford firing a thousand workers and moving their plant to Mexico? Obviously, you're a snob; the ordinary folk who buy those cars know better. Pursuing antitrust laws? You are simply an elitist spitting on those same consumers; if they didn't want Microsoft to be a monopoly, they wouldn't be buying Windows 98 ... and not to mention all those janitors and firemen who now own Microsoft stock. That is the other great cant of the age: Everyone is now a capitalist. In a time that saw some of the greatest economic inequalities in American history, the *Wall Street Journal* announced that the spread of stock ownership meant that our country had finally realized the economic dreams of Karl Marx.

Indeed, some of the silliest rhetoric of the time came when market enthusiasts began posing not just as populists but revolutionaries, a trend that went to evermore bizarre lengths in the endless hype about the "New Economy." Twenty-something goateed millionaires were the new Vietcong, striking fast and unexpectedly to upend the corporate social order, destroying the old dinosaurs, never missing a chance to best or humiliate the stodgy old gray-flannel types who had been so stupid and complacent to think themselves the crown princes of the financial world. Here, market populism actually did begin to target the same villains as the old populism: the chauffeured-limousine, horse-and-yacht set. But this time, the representatives of the Common Man were just another pack of younger, hipper businessmen. Bill Gates as everyman.

All this is well worth making fun of, and it's hard to imagine anyone better cut out for the job. But I do think that Frank's critics are not completely beating at the air here. If one merely describes corporate ideology, even if only to laugh at it, one misses out on some things, particularly the ways in which we might be more powerful than we're inclined to think. To take one example: Why, precisely, did the old right-wing formula, which had served capitalists so well since at least the 1850s, suddenly seem like it was running out of steam? Of course, it's

not entirely clear it really was; but if true, I would like to offer a suggestion.

Perhaps it is because the cultural co-optation Frank has spent so many years denouncing is actually a double-edged sword. It's hard to think of any other reason why the old battles of hippies and hardhats from the '60s could have evolved, in 1999, into the famous alliance of Turtles and Teamsters on the streets of Seattle. The '60s counterculture has been thoroughly assimilated; as a result, hippies and hardhats now tend to find they have an awful lot in common; as another result, even Jimmy Hoffa can end up marching (however briefly) with anarchists.

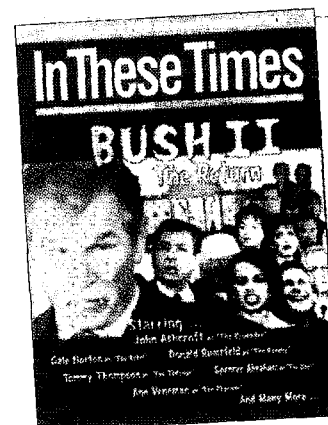
As for market populism itself, well—apart from the always-interesting question of whether anyone actually believes this stuff—can all this strange rhetoric about social revolution and the fall of an arrogant ruling class really be taken as a sign of strength? It's not enough to point out that it is obviously untrue. The really puzzling thing is why elites feel they have to say it in the first place. A lot of it has a strange smell of desperation. But why such desperation, and of all times, now? After all, American elites would seem to be doing awfully well.

In fact, it's hard to think of any ruling class in human history that has been anywhere near so successful: Not only do they dominate the world economically, culturally and militarily as never before, they do so at almost no real personal risk. Unlike ancient Roman or Egyptian or Chinese elites, who managed to achieve similarly total levels of control over their respective corners of the world, they stand almost no chance of being murdered in some palace intrigue; unlike previous capitalists, it would be hard for even the most timid to come up with a plausible suggestion as to who would be likely to actually hang them from the lamp-posts in the foreseeable future.

So why the insecurity? Shouldn't these people be celebrating themselves? Telling the world how great they are? Why the need, instead, to try to convince the world that, actually, they are being bested and humiliated by egalitarian hipsters? What are they afraid of?

Do they know something they're not telling us? ■

# SUBSCRIBE!



## Subscribe NOW

**1 year/26 issues  
for only \$24.95**

☐ Payment enclosed  
☐ Bill me (US only)\*  
 Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard

CARD NUMBER / EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

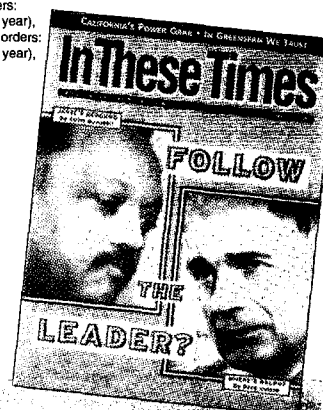
NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY / STATE / ZIP

MSIS01

\*Canadian orders:  
 add \$15 (one year),  
 Other foreign orders:  
 add \$21 (one year),



Mail to:

**In These Times Customer Service**  
 308 Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054  
**Or call 1-800-827-0270**

# He's a Wanderer

By Philip Connors

**E**dward Hoagland was born in New York City in 1932, but his parents moved with him at the age of eight to the leafy, WASPy quiet of New Canaan, Connecticut ("an ironic name for an anti-Semitic town"). This early-life exodus from city to exurb established a pattern for

**Compass Points**  
By Edward Hoagland  
Pantheon  
304 pages, \$25

his later peripatetic wanderings. In search of noble loners and endangered species, he has journeyed to the far northern reaches of British Columbia, the voodoo swamps of Louisiana and the killing fields of Africa, always returning to his natal city of New York, that glittering edifice of passion and vice.

"There should be a museum of writers' shoes," he writes in his new memoir, *Compass Points*. "Charles Dickens's, Jack London's, Dostoyevsky's, Defoe's, Twain's, Turgenev's, Stephen Crane's, Dreiser's, Sherwood Anderson's, George Orwell's, James Baldwin's—on and on, city or country, pick your own particular crew of walkers. More than first editions, their shoes would be a memorial." Based on his body of work and his preferred method of locomotion, his own contribution would be assured. One does hope, however, that the museum design would include hermetically sealed glass partitions, since he admitted in a long-ago essay that during one strange year of his life, "my feet smelled terrible ... like a forest fire."

Hoagland has published 20 books, the earliest of which were exuberant novels that explored the seedy, sweaty milieus of boxing and circus life. His father, a solid corporate man, wasn't pleased at his son's choice of vocation. When he got his hands on

the galleys of Hoagland's first novel, *Cat Man*, he found it vulgar and feared it would tarnish his own reputation. He called a lawyer at Houghton Mifflin and tried to hold up publication, to no avail.

When it appeared in 1954, *Cat Man* won a fellowship prize from Houghton Mifflin and earned good reviews. Papa Hoagland's business acquaintances even congratulated him on his son's success. But two subsequent novels failed to sell more than a couple thousand copies, and Hoagland reached a crisis point in both his writing and personal lives. His first marriage was splitting up; his confidence in his fictional inspiration was petering out.

He turned to journal writing to rescue himself, and from there made the leap to the personal essay. Tortuous (and tor-



turous) as the route to it was, this form proved most agreeable to his gifts—long, supple, unspooling sentences, an innate feeling for prose rhythms, a slightly skewed sense of humor and a knack for the telling anecdote. Nearly 40 years of nonfiction followed, one of the most intriguing sustained efforts by an American essayist in the postwar period. He found his voice in that form

so naturally that an *Edward Hoagland Reader* was first published in 1968.

**C**ompass Points, his capstone achievement, reads like a cross between the cantankerous eloquence of Edward Abbey (a longtime friend) and the intimate, gentle self-mockery of Phillip Lopate, with a pinch of Montaigne and Thoreau for contrarian good measure. Assiduous readers of contemporary periodicals may feel they're happening upon familiar material; indeed, I discovered I'd already read two-thirds of *Compass Points*. Wrenching chunks of a book into the straitjacket of a magazine article often diminishes both the excerpt and the larger work. But Hoagland's sentences are those rare kind that are so self-contained, yet so joyous in their rhythms and surprising in their twists, that I followed them a second time with an eagerness and pleasure I rarely muster on initial contact with other writers' prose.

The book opens with a long, moving piece on the defining condition of Hoagland's late life, a creeping blindness that slowly pulled the shade on his windows to the world. While the experience frightened him terribly, he managed to hang on to the little moments of visual joy still left to him:

Every day broad daylight managed to kill whatever vision I had left to the opacity of tapioca; but after sunset

I'd go outside again, almost tiptoeing with a tremulous joy, and sit down in the grass, my pupils expanding as dusk fell and as my cataracts lost their blocking power. As if on stolen time, I gazed at the rolling landscape, the profile of the lines of trees, smelling the joe-pye weed, fragrant like vanilla, seeing clouds like lumbering buffaloes pricked by quick winds in the sky.



**N**ear Hoagland's home  
in upstate Vermont,  
blue-collar old-timers  
and younger hippies  
might "ice-fish and  
do a little redneck  
pot together."

The approaching total blindness seemed horrifying, his mind often kept company only by "deranged ... talk-radio or TV 'hosts' whose egos were like suppurating boils that never popped. Week by week, their garish pleas for applause and rancid false laughter, their acrid logic, their make-nice appeals to the ecumenical piety of chuckling greed ... festered like a pus that never seeps away and heals." When high-tech surgery restores his sight, we can't help but feel a lift: Good things do happen to good people, at least some of the time.

Later, there are vivid set pieces on his early summers in a traveling circus; his research into his family history; and his country getaway in patchouli-scented upstate Vermont, where "the hippies blended with the locals better than contemporary uplink people, with their bicoastal assets and cyberspace income," and "the women gardened bare-breasted because they thought it helped the veggies grow." The blue-collar old-timers and the counterculture kids "might meet in a beer joint and begin to trade car parts, or else ice-fish and do a little redneck pot together"—just the kind of alliance we saw in Seattle not so long ago, and with the same beneficent results.

**H**oagland's keen vision is often at its sharpest when assessing human relations in all their shapes and forms. He pays touching homage to his several academic mentors, including the historian Henry Steele Commager, the writer Archibald MacLeish and the poet John Berryman, who "taught me how to be usefully crazy" but also "did me the early service of making alcoholism seem unromantic." Marriage

figures prominently in his recollections, too. Like many of his generation, Hoagland had two of them.

The first he treats wistfully, the second with less sentimentality but more searing honesty. Once-divorced and a little skitish, he met Marion Magid, an editor at *Commentary* magazine, in the late '60s. They intersected in a whirlwind cocktail circuit where the floating faces—sometimes shaken, often stirred—included Norman Mailer, Philip Roth, Saul Bellow, Alfred Kazin, Irving Howe, David Halberstam, Norman Podhoretz and Gay Talese. Soon Hoagland was publishing essays in *Commentary*, under the editing guidance of the woman who would become his second wife—and in a magazine that still stood for nobler ideals than repression of the Palestinians and the crassest kind of xenophobic, breast-beating patriotism.

Podhoretz, the *Commentary* ring-leader, "was abrasive and ingratiating, like many people who are shaped like a fireplug. ... What bothered me was his proprietorship. Once at a small publication party early in our marriage, he grabbed Marion's haunch with his right hand, staring at me, and kept his hand on her buttocks for several seconds without resistance on her part. That I hated him for." A good reason, and one I wouldn't dispute. But an even better one, from this vantage, was Podhoretz's eventual support for the use of U.S. military might in Vietnam and other misbegotten adventures, in a larger effort to assure later "hard-fist support for Israel against the Arabs, come what may." (To this day we maintain a shameful policy toward Israel, largest recipient by far of U.S. foreign aid, and a country that just elected a war criminal as its prime minister.)

But Hoagland is unfailingly generous. It's both his greatest virtue and his most exasperating fault. A bleeding heart himself, he calls his neocon acquaintances "patriots who cared about America's welfare," veering toward an unaccountable credulity. The neocon agenda oozes down the decades like a poisonous slime, tainting whatever it touches, and to join it with the word "welfare" in any positive sense seems either wickedly ironic or just plain naïve. But perhaps you had to be there at the beginning of the revolution—

when motives are always pure and most of the consequences as yet unseen.

Ultimately, Magid followed Podhoretz's rightward march "in lock step," and the marriage grew increasingly tense. Hoagland's lefty friends were banished from their home, and he sought his sexual affection elsewhere. Yet together they raised a daughter, and perhaps generosity of heart—Hoagland's defining attribute—is the only thing that made it possible.

The fact is, if you nod in agreement at every word from an essayist's pen, you're either blindly credulous yourself, or the essayist isn't doing his job. The essay "is a great meadow of style and personal manner, freed from the need for defense except that provided by an individual intelligence and sparkle," Elizabeth Hardwick has written. "We consent to watch a mind at work, without agreement often, but only for pleasure."

Hoagland's intelligence does, indeed, sparkle, and his prose offers much pleasure. He once said he wrote with the aim of being read 50 years hence. If, in our digital future, there is still a place for the oddball virtues of the personal essay, his work will endure. ■

Philip Connors is editor of the literary magazine Croonenberghs' Fly, whose first issue will be published this spring.

## PUBLISH YOUR BOOK!

One of the most respected subsidy publishers in the nation is accepting manuscripts for quality publication & promotion.

To submit your manuscript for a free evaluation, write to:

Ivy House, Dept. IT  
5122 Bur Oak Circle  
Raleigh, NC 27612  
or call 1-800-948-2786

**IVY HOUSE**  
Publishing Group

"Publishing Excellence  
for the Discriminating Author"

# Whee-Woo!

By Hillary Frey

**R**umors of a band called Pavement—the mysterious trio of S.M., G. Young, and someone named Spiral Stairs—first circulated among post-prog-rock indie kids in the late '80s. A few punky noise-rock singles on college radio caused some ripples in the burgeoning underground,

**Stephen Malkmus**  
Matador

but the band's first full-length record—*Slanted and Enchanted* (1992)—broke the Pavement wave, sending thousands of college boys and twenty-somethings of above-average intelligence down a fast, furious and rocky stream of what music writer Alex Ross has called “sublime nonsense.” Before that river ran dry in 1999, we had 10 good years of solid Pavement.

Those early tunes etched Pavement's trademarks of lo-fi driving guitars, yelling, loopy woo-woo refrains and weird lyrics into the minds of a small but thrilled public. During the '90s, the group evolved into S.M. (Stephen Malkmus) plus four, with a new drummer replacing Young in 1992. The band collected its early singles on *Westing (by musket and sextant)*, the title of which signaled the band's on and off obsession with American history.

**Before they split up,  
Pavement had become  
the most famous  
unfamous band in  
recent rock history.**

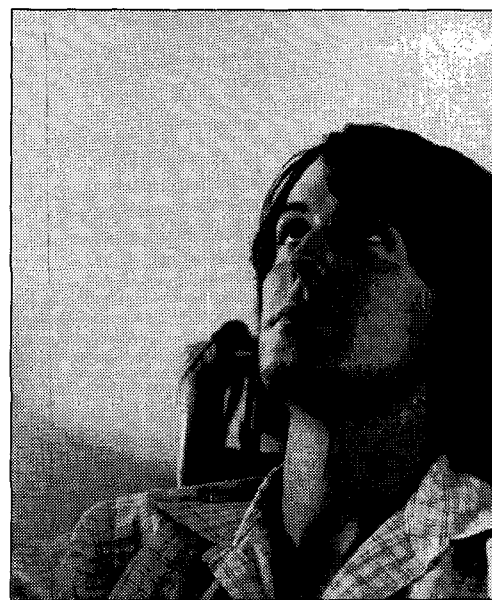
(Pavement's contribution to the 1993 compilation album *No Alternative* further defined that focus; “The Unseen Power of the Picket Fence” managed to connect the history of R.E.M. to Sherman's march through Georgia.)

During the past decade, the band delivered an elegant and enigmatic EP, *Watery, Domestic*, and four more full-

length albums: The twangy pop record *Crooked Rain, Crooked Rain* (1994) that sported a near hit with “Cut Your Hair”; *Wowee Zowee* (1995), a critical disaster loved by the faithful; *Brighten the Corners* (1997), featuring the ecstatic “Stereo” and the twinkly Hollywood tune “Shady Lane”; and the smooth and tuneful, slightly over-produced *Terror Twilight* (1999). When they eventually split up, Pavement had earned the dubious honor of being the most famous unfamous band in recent rock history.

**N**ow we have the new, eponymous record from Malkmus: sometime-screamer, consistently elusive, astonishingly literate and oft-lovely lyricist, Scrabble smartie, total rock-babe. *Stephen Malkmus* is fun and funny, pretty at times, sexy even. On this first solo record, Malkmus performs some of his signature tricks, rhyming words that don't really rhyme, stretching the simplest two-syllable term into a lyric of three or four beats, sketching events and people with the cleverness and precision of David Foster Wallace. He lets his voice crack here and there, too—a talent he put to great use a few years back on the Silver Jews' dark and brilliant *American Water*.

The most infectious tune on *Stephen Malkmus* is unquestionably “Jenny & the Ess-Dog,” due to be released as a single in April. The story of 18-year-old hippie-ish Jenny and her 31-year-old rocker boyfriend, the song is a straight narrative in cute, suburban imagery: “See the rings on her toes / check that Frisbee in his Volvo / it's a Volvo with ancient plates.” In spite of its catchy, sometimes lilting melody, the tale is not a happy one. Mid-song, Malkmus repeats “Get me out of here!” punctuated by some skillful screeching. (Whether he wants out of the relationship or he's reminding himself not to write tidy little ditties is anyone's guess.) Ultimately, Malkmus denies the couple their summery bliss and turns them into clichés. After the breakup, “the Ess-Dog



MOSES BERKSON

**Still slanted and enchanted.**

waits tables and he sold his guitar / Jenny pledged Kappa and she's starting pre-law.” Closing a cold door on her innocence, Malkmus even strips Jenny of her “awful” toe rings.

Sound too linear for Malkmus? To be sure, his solo record is easier to access, and simply listen to, than a lot of Pavement; one might even say it's more mature. But *Stephen Malkmus*, the record and the man, can also be confusing. “Jo Jo's Jacket,” reminiscent in form of Pavement's baffling “Give it a Day,” is a good example. The song opens with the recorded voice of a man talking about the benefits of having shaved his head (“It's been a liberation from a lot of stupid vanities”); Malkmus chimes in, revealing that voice as, oddly, Yul Brynner's (“Perhaps you saw me in *Westworld* / I acted like a robotic cowboy”). After a babbling whee-woo! sort of chorus, Malkmus switches to one of his own romantic squabbles: “Stay inside on Christmas Day / And make believe that you are my candy cane / You said, ‘I'm not that type / No, I'm not sweet!’ ” After weeks of contemplation, I don't get it, but I'm starting to move on. Whee-woo!

“Discretion Groove,” the album's first single, features classically nonsensical lyrics, set against a sort of Cars-like guitar groove, while “Trojan Curfew” is an alt-countryish ballad sung in Malkmus' best bedroom voice, which gets so quiet that, even with headphones strapped



tight to my head and the volume on 10, I can't completely make out the words. Still, it's that kind of tired tune that makes you feel so sad you can't help but play it over and over again. "Church on White," a slow, anthemic waltz, addresses a friend who's gone: "Carry on / it's a marathon / take me off the list / I don't want to be missed ... All you ever wanted / was everything, plus everything." Listening to it, one pictures a sea of small lighter flames extending from thin, braceleted wrists toward Malkmus (in spotlight, of course).

But whose wrists will those be? It's safe to say, I think, that the crowds at

Malkmus concerts this spring will be mixed. Even the most diehard Pavement fan, who may have hoped Malkmus would go more punk than pop in his solo work, will find something to love in this album; there's just the right amount of Pavement-ness to induce a pleasant nostalgia, and enough edge to keep it far from being lame. Unlocking the secret code of *Stephen Malkmus* could take years and years; Malkmus has done well with this record. I look forward to 10 solid years of him, too. ■

Hillary Frey is assistant literary editor of The Nation.

while still vintage Wong Kar-Wai, was a purgative for its director, slowing him down to a tango, allowing him to confront human emotions in a raw and explicit but much less dizzying way.

If *Happy Together* was a tango, then Wong's latest film, *In the Mood for Love*, is the slowest and most elegiac of waltzes, and represents another surprising departure. Wong explores the lost world of Hong Kong in 1962, a world far removed from the skyscrapered city of today, a world that is tranquil and courteous but also incredibly claustrophobic.

## In Close Company

By Carl Bromley

All the things that we had come to expect from Wong Kar-Wai, the maestro of Hong Kong new wave cinema, and his signature neon-gashed, boy-meets-girl stories, were

**In the Mood for Love**  
Directed by Wong Kar-Wai

already showing signs of implosion in *Happy Together*, his story of a love affair between two Chinese men and its agonizing death in the streets of Buenos Aires. Going, though not quite gone, was the seedy, lonely outlaw world of Hong Kong's Chungking Mansions, a world that Wong had made his own in *Chungking Express* and *Fallen Angels*. If *Fallen Angels* was an ultra-violent coda to *Chungking Express* and a farewell to the "heroic bloodshed" genre that had given Wong his start with 1988's *As Tears Go By* (his unofficial remake of *Mean Streets*), *Happy Together* was the staking out of new territory.

The solitary nature of urban life was always

served up by Wong in a feast of hard-boiled wonderland hipness: The boys were cool and the girls were pretty, the handheld camera work often frenetic, blurred and tilted, and the bleached colors that cinematographer Christopher Doyle managed to put on film were always beautiful. But Wong was aware of becoming too recognizable. As he told *Sight and Sound's* Tony Rayns: "Too many other directors are doing Wong Kar-Wai these days, so I have to do something different." *Happy Together*,

Chow Mo-Wan (Tony Leung), a journalist, rents a room in an apartment building inhabited by the recently exiled Shanghai middle class. By chance, he moves in the same day that Su Lizhen (Maggie Cheung), a secretary to the boss of a shipping company, moves in next door. Mrs. Suen, their landlady, is an endearingly overbearing matriarch who hosts all night mah-jong sessions. Coincidentally, both Chow and Lizhen move in without the help of their respective spouses; Chow's wife is a hotel receptionist who is working her shift at the hotel, while Lizhen's husband is away on business.

There's a feeling of incredible, physical compression in Chow and Lizhen's lives: They work in tiny office spaces, they slide by each other in cramped hallways, and when they do finally find themselves at home, alone, the voices from next door are intrusive. Within the confines of this world their schedules prevent them from seeing their spouses: Chow's wife never remembers to tell him when she's off early; and Lizhen's husband always seems to be away on business.

Though Chow and Lizhen never really talk, they see more and more of each other. When Lizhen goes on her nightly walks to the local noodle stand, Chow finds himself retracing her footsteps. What is it that draws them together?



"I hate to think of your husband coming home."

er? Is it just mutual loneliness? They finally meet properly in a diner, and Chow discovers something that Lizhen had suspected: their respective spouses are having an affair with each other.

For a filmmaker so ravishingly visual as Wong, so much of *In the Mood for Love* takes place off screen. He shows neither spouse, though we do see the back of their heads; we hear their love-making, their phone conversations and we see of course the devastating consequence of their actions. Exactly how and why they were cheated on—"I wonder how it began ... who made the first move?"—becomes a mystery story for Chow and Lizhen, which they re-enact in order to solve. Their second dinner date becomes a role-play, where Lizhen notes: "You have my husband down pat. He's a real sweet talker." Later they rehearse what they will say to their spouses when they confront them with what they know.

Inevitably, though, something larger is in bloom. They find excuses to spend more time with each other, though they have to be very discrete. They agree to

collaborate on a martial arts adventure for Chow's newspaper. Ultimately, their feelings change: "I hate to think of your husband coming home," Chow says. Chow and Lizhen might eventually make love, though this, like much else in this film, is shrouded in ambiguity.

A film of whispered secrets, lost love affairs and a heartbreaking jab of a question—what might have been?—*In the Mood for Love* has a strange power. It has a far gentler pace than Wong's previous films, unfolding like a series of still shots, noirish *tableaux vivants*. Put bizarrely, it's like watching a beautiful novel; its power creeps up long after it finishes. Days later, one recalls how the exquisite Maggie Cheung is framed, lying plaintively on her bed while Tony Leung sits opposite; or Cheung's high-necked floral *cheongsam* as she walks to the noodle stand in slow motion, Michael Galasso's slow, throbbing score in accompaniment, while Leung, who has one of cinema's most emphatic faces, passes by. Leung and Cheung are icons of Far Eastern cinema, and *In the*

*Mood for Love* confirms them as one of Hong Kong cinema's greatest couples.

The feeling of emotional and spatial confinement (even imprisonment) is often overwhelming—the camera catches glimpses through a salon door or a mirror's reflection, revealing fragments of things past. The color of scarlet red is palpable as well; it's a red rarely seen in cinema, which helps give the film its eerie, lost-world flavor. Likewise, Cheung's dresses, Nat King Cole's songs and Formica tabletops compound the feeling that a time capsule is being opened. "That era has passed. Nothing that belongs to it exists anymore," we are told at the end of the film.

Wong has said that this was the hardest film he ever made; indeed, the emotional pain and beauty on screen recalls the agony Truffaut conveyed in *Two English Girls*. It also reminds us why Wong is a filmmaker—one of the last few—worth going to the ends of the earth for. ■

Carl Bromley is the editor of *Cinema Nation: The Best Writing on Film from The Nation 1913-2000*.

Continued from page 30



unhealthy conditions" and its origin dates from 1892.

So my personal id does meet the criteria detailed in your first email.

Your web site advertises that the

NIKE id program is "about freedom to choose and freedom to express who you are." I share Nike's love of freedom and personal statement. The site also says that "If you want it done right ... build it yourself."

I was thrilled to be able to build my own shoes, and my personal id was offered as a small token of appreciation for the sweatshop workers poised to help me realize my vision.

I hope that you will value my freedom of statement and reconsider your decision to reject my order.

Thank you,  
Jonah Peretti

From: "Personalize, NIKE id"  
To: "Jonah H. Peretti"  
Subject: RE: Your NIKE id order  
#16468000

Dear NIKE id Customer,

Regarding the rules for personalization it also states on the NIKE id web site that "Nike reserves the right to cancel any Personal id up to 24 hours after it has been submitted".

In addition it further explains:

"While we honor most personal ids, we cannot honor every one. Some may be (or contain) others trademarks, or the names of certain professional sports teams, athletes or celebrities that Nike does not have the right to use. Others may contain material that we consider inappropriate or simply do not want to place on our products. Unfortunately, at times this obliges us to decline personal ids that may otherwise seem unobjectionable. In any event, we will let you know if we decline your personal id, and we will offer you the chance to submit another."

With these rules in mind we cannot accept your order as submitted.

If you wish to reorder your NIKE id product with a new personalization please visit us again at [www.nike.com](http://www.nike.com)

Thank you,  
NIKE id

From: "Jonah H. Peretti"  
To: "Personalize, NIKE id"  
Subject: RE: Your NIKE id order  
#16468000

Dear NIKE id,

Thank you for the time and energy you have spent on my request.

I have decided to order the shoes with a different id, but I would like to make one small request.

Could you please send me a color snapshot of the ten-year-old Vietnamese girl who makes my shoes?

Thanks,  
Jonah Peretti



## HELP WANTED

**COMMUNITY ORGANIZER**  
(Search Reopened) American Friends Service Committee-Connecticut, based in Hartford, seeks peace/justice program coordinator. Salary: mid-high \$20's; excellent benefits. Send resume/cover letter by 3/5/01 to Phyllis Cohen, AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140; FAX: (617)354-2832; E-MAIL: pcohen@afsc.org; PHONE: (617)661-6130. AA/EO Employer.

**CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE** IS seeking a Director of Human Resources for a 70 staff member organization. Seek self-directed individual to function as head of the department who reports to the Group Vice President. The Human Resources Director will plan, administer and direct a variety of functions including payroll processing, benefit and compensation administration, employee training and professional development, recruitment and selection activities, performance management system and employee dispute resolution program. Need a Bachelor's degree (Master's degree preferred); five to ten years of proven experience managing a human resources

department; knowledge of employment legislation and HR practices, and expertise in staff development. Cover letter and resume to Simone Mitchell-Peterson, Group Vice President Chicago Urban League, 4510 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60665.

## BUY/SELL

**BUTTONS IN YOUR DRAWERS?** Longtime activist will buy political buttons for progressive causes and candidates, including peace, civil rights, labor feminist, environmental, anti-imperialist. If you choose, I'll make payment to progressive organization of your choice. Contact Bob (301) 891-1038 or guldin@us.net.

## PERSONALS

### CONCERNED SINGLES

links compatible singles who care about peace, social justice, gender equity, racism and the environment.

Nationwide. Since

1984. All ages.

FREE SAMPLE:

Box 444-IT.

Lenox Dale, MA 01242,

(413) 445-6309; or at

<http://www.concernedsingles.com>

## ANCIENT CASTLES REPLACED BY SHOPPING MALLS!

What's next? More gyms?

More libraries? More art galleries"?

Plug into the stormy rhythm of human progress!

Read Sydney Spiegel's book,

## ALL EMPIRES DIE!

Pentland Press, \$13.95

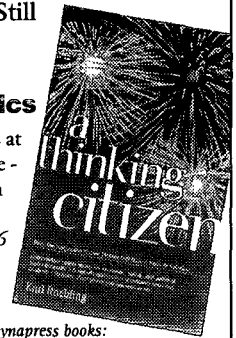
(Order from your local or internet bookstore)

**Does The Independent Citizen Thinker Still Have A Voice In America?**

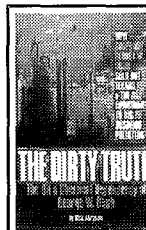
### 40 Lively Topics

See table of contents at bottom of homepage - [www.dynapress.com](http://www.dynapress.com)

ISBN 0-942910-20-6  
6" x 9" Paper 180 pp.  
\$14.95



TO ORDER or see all Dynapress books: [www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com)  
Books, Author Karl Roebeling



well researched and fact filled

## The Dirty Truth George W. Bush's Oil and Chemical Dependency

How he sold out Texans and the Environment to Big Business Polluters

This book reveals George W. Bush's shadowy back-room style of governing, his campaign money trail, and his true political agenda for the nation.

\$12.95 200 pages 8.5" X 5.5"

by Rick Abraham

[www.mainstreampublishers.com](http://www.mainstreampublishers.com)

or <http://207.1.100.19>

P.O. Box 7635 Houston, Texas 77270

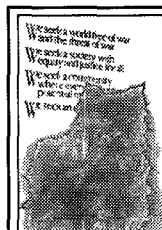


## Read The Progressive Populist

A Journal from the Heartland with alternative news and views from Jim Hightower, Molly Ivins, Ralph Nader, Jesse Jackson, other muckrakers, agitators and the best of the nation's alternative press. . . . An antidote for your daily news. . . . Deflating pompous plutocrats since 1995.

Only \$29.95 for 22 issues.

For a free sample copy, call toll-free 1-800-205-7067 or see [www.populist.com](http://www.populist.com)

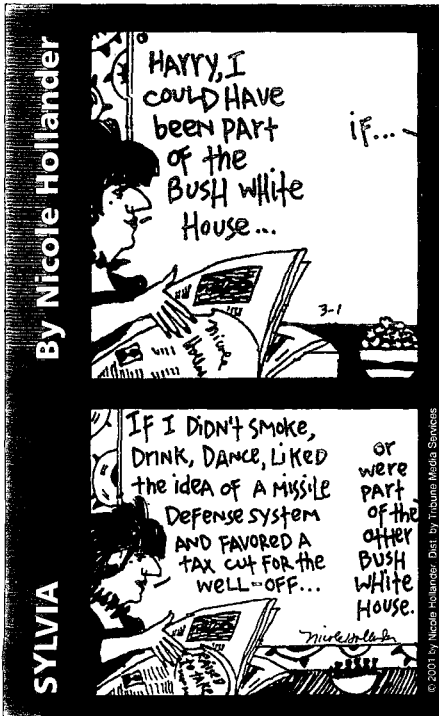


## Cats & Peace

Steer your way through the new year with the 2001 CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB wall calendar. Cover cat Violet and twelve other fascinating felines welcome you to the new millennium. With daily

information on cat history and peace activities of the past, plus dates of importance in the struggle for human rights and equality.

US \$7.95 plus US \$1.25 shipping. Nebraskans for Peace: (402) 475-4620 PO Box 83466 Lincoln, NE 68501 website: <http://expage.com/page/CLAB>



[www.inthesetimes.com](http://www.inthesetimes.com)

HISTORIC REPRINT of the 1936 Masterpiece...

## CHRISTIANITY'S SOCIAL RECORD

By Joseph McCabe, World-Famous Historical Scholar

A concise, provocative fact-filled account showing how the Christian Church retarded human progress and reeked with vice and corruption from early times through the Reformation period; and that an indictment of ecclesiastical abuses was finally brought about by Deists, Skeptics and Atheists.

booklet \$6.00 ppd. (USA)

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS, P.O. BOX 102, RIDGEFIELD, NJ 07657

subscribe online! [www.inthesetimes.com](http://www.inthesetimes.com)



# No Sweat, No Slang

Nike recently began offering a service whereby customers can have a word or phrase custom-stitched onto their shoes. In January, Jonah Peretti, an MIT student and anti-sweatshop campaigner, filled out the form and sent Nike \$50 to stitch "sweatshop" onto his shoes. The following is his ensuing correspondence with the company.

---

From: "Personalize, NIKE iD"  
To: "Jonah H. Peretti"  
Subject: RE: Your NIKE iD order  
#16468000

Your NIKE iD order was cancelled for one or more of the following reasons.

- 1) Your Personal iD contains another party's trademark or other intellectual property.
- 2) Your Personal iD contains the name of an athlete or team we do not have the legal right to use.

- 3) Your Personal iD was left blank. Did you not want any personalization?
- 4) Your Personal iD contains profanity or inappropriate slang, and besides, your mother would slap us.

If you wish to reorder your NIKE iD product with a new personalization please visit us again at [www.nike.com](http://www.nike.com)

Thank you,  
NIKE iD




---

From: "Jonah H. Peretti"  
To: "Personalize, NIKE iD"  
Subject: RE: Your NIKE iD order  
#16468000

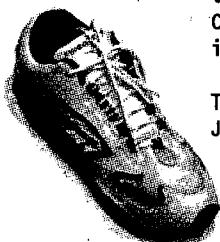
Greetings,

My order was canceled but my personal NIKE iD does not violate any of the criteria outlined in your message. The Personal iD on my custom ZOOM XC USA running shoes was the word "sweatshop."

Sweatshop is not: 1) another's party's trademark, 2) the name of an athlete, 3) blank, or 4) profanity.

I chose the iD because I wanted to remember the toil and labor of the children that made my shoes. Could you please ship them to me immediately.

Thanks and Happy New Year,  
Jonah Peretti




---

From: "Personalize, NIKE iD"  
To: "Jonah H. Peretti"  
Subject: RE: Your NIKE iD order  
#16468000

Dear NIKE iD Customer,

Your NIKE iD order was cancelled because the iD you have chosen contains, as stated in the previous e-mail correspondence, "inappropriate slang."

If you wish to reorder your NIKE iD product with a new personalization please visit us again at [www.nike.com](http://www.nike.com)

Thank you,  
NIKE iD

---

From: "Jonah H. Peretti"  
To: "Personalize, NIKE iD"  
Subject: RE: Your NIKE iD order  
#16468000

Dear NIKE iD,

Thank you for your quick response to my inquiry about my custom ZOOM XC USA running shoes.

Although I commend you for your prompt customer service, I disagree with the claim that my personal iD was inappropriate slang.

After consulting Webster's Dictionary, I discovered that "sweatshop" is in fact part of standard English, and not slang.

The word means: "a shop or factory in which workers are employed for long hours at low wages and under

*Continued on page 28*